

A SHORT HISTORY
OF
Sanskrit Literature

WITH

*APPENDICES DESCRIPTIVE OF THE INTERPRETATION
OF THE VEDAS AND RELIGIOUS SECTS*

SECOND EDITION

(Revised and Enlarged)

By

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PREFACE

The present volume is an attempt to meet the wants of the readers of the history of Sanskrit literature, so far as this is feasible under existing circumstances. It is intended to form an introduction to Sanskrit literature, which is so vast in quantity and which embraces all departments of human knowledge with the possible exception of history in its modern sense. The Indian mind seems to have always been naturally careless of noting and recording those facts and occurrences that constitute history, and thus great uncertainty prevails in the chronology of historical literature. The great mass of Sanskrit literature is in metre, even works on science and law having a poetical form. Most of it was written after the language had ceased to be spoken in the fullest sense.

The Vedas are the oldest literary monuments, by far the oldest of which the Indo-European family can boast. They are looked upon as the source of all the *Sāstras* or sacred lore of the Hindus. The *Purāṇas* form another important department of the religious literature, but are very much later than the Vedas. It is pretty certain that epic compositions existed in Vedic times, and truly some of the Vedic hymns themselves may be called epic in the broad sense of the term; the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are certainly post-Vedic. The Hindus are perhaps the only people of the East among whom dramatic poetry had sprung up as a native growth; but it did not arise among them from the lyric, as it did among the Greeks, but directly from their epic poetry. The Sanskrit poetic tales and fables have exercised a most important influence on the whole literature of the East, and even on that of the Western middle ages.

The scientific literature of India is likewise large. The first place is due to the grammatical works, which are very thorough. Indian grammarians having carried phonetic and etymological analysis farther than it has been carried except by modern European science. In philosophy, too the Hindus have produced some remarkable works, the beginnings of philosophical speculation going back to a very high antiquity. The history of Sanskrit literature is yet to be written. My humble endeavour has been in this small volume to bring out the nucleus of its history. The difficulties of beginners are manifold ; to smooth their path a little and to show them the way to study the history of Sanskrit literature no pains have been spared.

It will perhaps not be amiss to remind Western scholars who are sometimes apt to judge us harshly, of Goethe's saying :—*Fines Schicht Sich nicht fur alle !* what is best for the West need not be so for the East, and even the ideally best may need considerable modifications to meet existing circumstances.

For want of revision some of its defects could not have been mended. If the students for whom it is intended accord favourable reception to the present work and if the work can commend itself as a practical aid to them it is hoped that the whole book will be entirely recast in the next edition.

My thanks are due to my friends and colleagues for their valuable suggestions and corrections while the book was going through the press and specially to Pandit Amūlya Charan Vidyābhūṣaṇa for his reading the book through the press, lending to me some rare books, revising the manuscripts and helping me in various other ways. Above all, my heartfelt gratitude is due to the authors of the following books

which were mainly consulted during the preparation of the work.

- History of Sanskrit Literature—A. A. Macdonell.
 Vedic Mythology—A. A. Macdonell. History of Sanskrit
 Literature—Weber. A Hand Book of Sanskrit Literature—
 G. Small. Asiatic Researches—Vols. XV. XVI. Philo-
 sophy of Vedanta—Priya Nath Sen. A Comprehensive
 History of the Religion of the Hindus—Dhirendra Nath Pal.
 Ancient and Modern History of India—R. C. Datta.
 Ancient History of India—Max Müller. Buddhist India—
 Rhys. Davids. History of Vedic Literature—T. N. Bhatta-
 charya. Religion of the Veda—Bloomfield. The Vedas.
 The Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas.—&c. &c.

पूर्णनदः पूर्णमिदं पृथ्वात् पूर्णमुदच्यते ।

पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावशिष्यते ।

ओशान्तिः ओशान्तिः ओशान्तिः ।

THE AUTHOR.

Calcutta.

i. 9. 19.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The book has been thoroughly revised. Some portions have been rewritten and many new things have been introduced. To speak the truth it is a new work. Though the present book has attained more than double of its former volume, yet in consideration of the present economic depression of the country the price of the book has been raised only nominally.

In preparing this edition I have consulted specially the works of Messrs Winternitz, Kieth, Weber, K. M. Banerjee, R. L. Mitra, J. C. Bhaumic and others, besides many original works. My thanks are due to these authors. Besides, I am greatly indebted to my friend and colleague Prof. J. M. Ghosh, M.A. for his valuable suggestions, correction of manuscripts and reading the entire book while going through the press. My thanks are also due to my colleague Sj. P. K. Mukherjee, M. A. P. R. S. for his kindly preparing the Index. My thankfulness is none the less to Anantabandhu Das B.A. who has helped me in various ways in the preparation of the book.

I shall deem my labour amply rewarded if the students for whom it is chiefly intended, derive even the slightest help from its perusal. I shall ever remain grateful to those generous readers who would kindly point out to me the errors and defects which have crept into the work and offer kind suggestions for its future improvement.

Calcutta

AUTHOR

30th. Aug. 1936.

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INTRODUCTION

The oldest as well as the most monumental work of the Aryan race is the Veda. This work has a twofold interest. It reveals not only the history of the Indians, but of the whole human race. In times out of mind, when most peoples of the world were steeped in the darkness of ignorance, the serene light of Vedic civilisation shone bright in the orient. But the Veda is not only the history of the ancient world, but also it is a compendium and digest of all branches of knowledge. We get in it a vivid and systematic account of the growth and development of religion, society and politics.

The Veda-
its anti-
quity and
scope.

Most Hindus believe that the hymns of the Veda were revealed at different times to different groups of Brāhmaṇas of great intellectual and imaginative power. These hymns, when collected and arranged, took the shape of Saṃhitā. In course of time, when the Veda became of huge size, unwieldy and difficult to master, there arose the necessity of dividing and arranging it in a compendious form. The priests

Vedic
Saṃhitā.

engaged by yajamānas to perform their sacrificial rites divided the veda amongst themselves and took charge of the different portions dealing with different ceremonies, which, by degrees, grew massive and multifrom. It is held that the whole mass was subsequently divided into four parts in which form it is found at present and since then the four parts have come to be known as the *R̥g*, *Yajuh*, *Sāma* and *Atharva* vedas. Accounts of this division are given in the *Fāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇas.¹

¹ द्वापरे तु पुरावृत्ते मनोः स्वायम्भुवेऽन्तरे ।
ब्रह्मा मनुमुवाचेदं वेदं व्यस्य (तद्वदिष्ये) सहामते ।
एवमुक्तस्तथेत्युक्त्वा मनुर्लोकहिते रतः ।

वेदमेकं चतुष्पादं चतुर्धा व्यभजत् प्रभुः ।
अस्मिन् युगे कृतो व्यासः पाराशर्य्यः परन्तपः ।
ब्रह्मणा चोदितः सोऽस्मिन् वेदं व्यस्तु प्रचक्रमे ॥

वायु ई० २, ८, ११, १२ ।

ततोऽत्र मत्स्यतोव्यासोऽष्टादिशक्तिमेऽन्तरे ।
वेदमेकं चतुष्पादं चतुर्धा व्यभजत् प्रभुः ॥ विष्णु ३।१२
एक आसीद् यजुर्वेदस्तं चतुर्धा व्यकल्पयत् ।
चतुर्होत्रमभूद्यस्मिन् स्तेनयज्ञमथाकरोत् ॥ विष्णु ३।११
सोयमेको महावेदतत्स्तेन दृथक् कृतः ।

चतुर्धा तु ततो जातं वेदपादपकाननम् ॥ विष्णु ३।११
द्वापरे समनुप्राप्ते तृतीययुगपर्य्यये
जातः पराशरात् योगी वासव्यान् कलया हरेः ।

The orthodox view is that previous to the present division, in former time also the Veda was similarly divided by different Vyāsas at different times and finally by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa after the end of last Dvāpara yuga (28th Dvāpara yuga of the seventh manvantara).¹ The Mahābhārata also supports this view and holds that it was Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa who divided and arranged the undivided Veda into its four usual parts and hence his name Vyāsa². Mahidhara, too, in his comment on the *Śukla Yajurveda* has taken this Paurāṇic account to be true.³

Orthodox
view of
Vedic
division.

Evidence
of
literature.

चातुर्होत्रं कर्मशुद्धं प्रजानां वोदय वैदिकम् ।

व्यदधात् यज्ञसन्तत्यै वेदमेकं चतुर्विधम् ।

ऋग्यजुःसामार्थव्याख्याः वेदाश्चत्वारउद्धृता ॥

भागवत १।४, १४, १६—२०।

पराशरात् सत्यवत्यामंशांशकलया विमुः ।

अवतीर्णो महाभागोवेदं चक्रे चतुर्विधम् ॥

ऋग्यजुर्व्याजुःसाम्नां राशीरुद्धृत्य वर्गशः ।

चतस्रः संहिताश्चक्रे मन्त्रैर्मणिगणा इव ॥ भागवत १२।६।४६-५० ।

1 See "Division of the Veda by Vyāsas"

2 विव्यासैकं चतुर्धा यो वेदं वेदविदां वरः । महा १।६।५।

3 तत्रादौ ब्रह्मपरम्परया प्राप्तं वेदं वेदव्यासो मन्दमतीन् मनुष्यान् विचिन्त्य तत्कृपया चतुर्धा व्यस्य ऋग्यजुःसामार्थव्याख्यांश्चतुरोवेदान् पेल-वेशम्पायन-जैमिनि-सुमन्तुभ्यः क्रमादुपदिदेश । ते च स्वशिष्येभ्यः ; एवं परम्परया सहस्रशाखो वेदो जातः ।

The *R̥gveda* itself gives an account of the origin of the three Vedas—*R̥k*, *Yajuh*, and *Sāma*—in the celebrated *Puruṣa Sūkta* (X. 90. 9), which runs thus—From that Great God, revered and worshipped by all, sprang the *R̥ks* and *Sāmans*, from Him came *Chandas* and *Yajuh* originated from Him¹. Having seen सामानि and छन्दांसि in the same verse Sāyaṇācārya has taken the latter as Vedic metres. But I think this verse has no connection with metre, it simply speaks of the origin of the Vedas. छन्दांसि here is *Sāma* Veda, while सामानि refers to the verses of the *R̥gveda* that may be put to tune. This is corroborated by the following facts. There are, as we find in the *R̥k*, three finite verbs each being connected with a particular Veda. That here and there in the *R̥gveda* there are verses speaking of *Sāmans*². Certain it is that these do not refer to the *Sāma* Veda, as I have stated above, but to the verses that were sung by the *Udgātā*. This *R̥k* corroborates also the idea of the unity of the Veda. But unfortunately the word साम led Mr. Weber and some other scholars to jump to the conclusion that the *Sāma* Veda was prior to the *R̥gveda* as

The origin of the Vedas according to *Samhitā* and other texts.

Sāma and *Chandah*.

तस्माद् यज्ञात् सर्व्वहुतः ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे ।
छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्माद् यजुस्तस्मादजायत ॥ R.V. १०।६०।६।
R̥gveda 2. 43. 1-2; 5. 44. 14-15; 8. 38. 10; 10. 85. 6, 11, etc..

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the latter is quoted by the former. The text of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* runs thus—*R̥k* from Agni, *Yajuh* from *Vāyu* and *Sāma* from *Sūrya*. Of the three *Vyāhrtis* *Bhuh* from the *R̥ks*, *Bhuvah* from the *Yajūh* and *Svar* from the *Sāma*¹. *Manu* also corroborates the text of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* in the first Chapter of his *Samhitā*². This passage and a few other similar passages in the *Upaniṣads* and *Purāṇas* have made some scholars think that the *Atharvaveda* originated long after the other three Vedas, nay, they have gone further and held that the fourth Veda, because of its new subject matter, such as, अभिचारक्रिया etc., was not recognised at first as a Veda. According to them the 'crafty' *Brāhmaṇas* added a few hymns necessary for sacrifices and thus raised it to the status of the Vedas. This view is entirely untenable as the name of the *Atharva Veda* is found in many of the authoritative *Upaniṣads*³. The name of the sage *Atharvā*

Atharva
Veda and
its relation
with other
Vedas.

¹ अग्नेः ऋषो वायोर्यजूंसि सामान्यादित्यात् ... भूरिति ऋग्भ्यः सुवरिति यजुर्भ्यः स्वरिति सामभ्यः । छान्दोग्य ४।१७।२-३।

² अग्निवायुरविन्यस्तु त्रयं ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।
दुदोहं यज्ञसिद्धयर्थमृग्यजुःसामलक्षणम् ॥ १।२।

³ अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतत् ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः—बृहदारण्यक २।४।१० and also ४।१।२; ४।५।११।

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

as well as of priests called Atharvā or Brahmā is found in the very body of the Vedas. It was this old sage who first performed sacrificial rites and produced fire¹. But we must try to find out why the name of Atharva Veda is excluded from the term त्रयी or the *Three*, which was the comprehensive name of the Vedas. It is still a matter of altercation as to its meaning. Some take it to mean the three Vedas—the R̥k, the Yajuh and the Sāma, while others offer various explanations of the term. The hymns of the Vedas show clearly that sacrificial ceremonies had attained to their perfection during the Vedic ages. They also point out that the four Vedas—R̥k, Yajuh, Sāma and Atharvā—have each a principal priest, the Hotā, Adhvaryu, Udgātā and Brahmā. Of these four priests the Hotā has to recite the incantations of the

The word त्रयी-
its explanation.

Principal
priests of
the Vedas.

स होवाच ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्वरेमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थम्
...आन्दोग्य-७।१२ and also ३।४।१ ; ४।१६।२ ; ७।७।१
तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः—सुराडक १।१।२
यजुर्ऋक् सामादेशोऽथर्वान्निरसः...तैत्तिरीयब्रह्मनन्दवल्ली दशमोऽ-

नुवाकः ।

यामथर्ज्वामनुष्पिता दध्यह्नं धियमत्तत—R̥gveda, 1. 80. 16.
यजैरथर्वं प्रथम पथस्तत—R̥gveda 1. 83. 5.
त्वामग्ने पुष्करा दध्यधर्वा निरमन्यत—Samveda 1. 1. 1. 9

In this connection see also Vājasaneyi samhita 5. 16. 10. 21. 5. etc.

R̥gveda ; the Adhvaryu to perform rites in accordance with the formula of the Yajurveda ; the Udgātā to chant Sāmans ; but Brahmā, the priest of the Atharva-Veda, has got for his duty to observe and examine the procedures of other priests and to remove their errors and shortcomings. And thus we find that he was required to be versed in all the three Vedas¹. It is clear from this that in respect of sacrifice the Atharvaveda has no separate existence of its own but is a sort of auxiliary to the other three Vedas. This fact according to many celebrated Vedic scholars accounts for its exclusion from the group of the Vedas collectively designated as Trayī. In the opinion of some the undivided Veda was a mixture or combination of three distinct elements—poetry, prose and songs and hence the name *Trayī*. In the opinion of others again the Vedas go by the name of *Trayī* inasmuch as they contain the three great principles or ideals of human life—action, worship and knowledge.

Functions
of different
priests.

¹ ऋग्वेदेन होता करोति सामवेदेनोद्गाता यजुर्वेदेनाध्वर्युः सव्वै-
र्ब्रह्मा । यद् ऋचैर्वहोत्रं क्रियते यजुषाध्वर्य्वं सान्नोद्गोथं व्याख्यान्नयी-
विद्याभयति । अथ केन ब्रह्मत्वं क्रियते इति त्रय्याविद्येति त्रूयात् । ऐतवेय-
चाह्वण ५।३३ ।

Age of the Veda

It would be at best idle speculation to try to establish the age of the Vedic hymns. Though the researches of the last fifty years have thrown a flood of light on the misty far-off dawn of Vedic civilisation, the light is but a faint gleam and the cloud of doubt still lingers upon the vexed question of its chronology. Weber rightly says in his

Weber's
view.

History of Indian Literature that to seek for an exact date is fruitless labour¹. In his Gifford Lectures on Physical Religion (1890), Prof. Max Müller (who formerly held that the date of the Samhita or chandah

Maxmüller's
view.

period was about 1200 to 1000 B.C.) says, "We cannot hope to find the date when the earliest Vedic hymns began to be composed. Whether they were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 2500 B.C. no power on earth will ever determine."

Ortho-
dox view.

According to orthodox view the hymns of the Vedas are a direct revelation from God to the seers of old, and these seers

¹When we come to look for definite chronological dates. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that any such research, as a general rule, would be absolutely fruitless.

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acted only as the medium of communication but were in no sense the authors of the same¹. The scholiast (सारणाचार्य) also salutes Siva at the outset of his commentary thus—I bow down to Maheśvara, the saven of learning, whose breath was the Veda and from which proceeded the whole universe². But from a comparative study of numerous passages in the Veda as well as some passages of the Nirukta and Anukramanī of the R̥gveda there remains little doubt that the hymns of the Vedas were composed by the sages at different periods of time³. Having examined these

Vedic hymns collected at different periods of time.

Veda-the revealed truth.

1 ऋषयः नन्त्रदृष्टारः ननु वेदस्य कर्तारः ।

न कश्चित्तुच वेदकर्ता वेदस्मर्त्ताचतुर्मुखः—पराशरसंहिता १।२०।

तेने ब्रह्महृदा य आदिकवये मुख्यन्ति यत् सूरयः । भागवत १।१।

वेदो हरेर्वाक् सार्वित्री वेदमाताप्रतिष्ठिता । कल्किपुराण २।३।

अजान् हवै पृथ्वीं स्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्मस्वयम्भ्वभ्यानर्षत्तदपयोऽभवजिति-
युगान्तेऽन्तर्हितान् वेदान् सेतिहासान्महर्षयः । लोमिरे तपसा पूव
मनुज्ञातास्वयम्भुवा ॥

2 यस्य निःश्वसितं वेदाः यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत् ।

निर्ममे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थं महेश्वरम् ॥

3 अग्निः पृथ्वींभि ऋषिभिरीड्योनूतनैस्त—R̥g. Veda 1. 1. 2. .

गोतमोऽन्द्रनन्यमतज्ञत् ब्रह्म—R̥g. Veda 1. 62.13.1.1.2 ;

1. 27. 4 etc.

इयं गीर्नान्दार्थ्यस्य—R̥g. Veda 1. 166. 15.

ब्रह्माणि ससृजे वशिष्टः—R̥g. Veda 7. 18. 8.

two conflicting statements it may be concluded that the truth underlying the hymn was revealed to the seers who then composed in their own way these verses and utilised them in some particular sacrifices. Among Indian scholars of modern times, some echo the opinions of western scholars, while others say that the age of Vedic literature should, at least, go back to about two lacs of years'. The accepted opinion is that the hymns of the Vedas go back to about 3000 B.C., but some scholars are inclined rather to push back the date as B.C. 3500. Schroeder in his *Indian Literature and Culture* suggests that the superior limit may be a few centuries earlier than 1500 B.C., while Whitney, Grassmann, and Benfey provisionally assume 2000 B.C. as the starting point of Hindu literature.

Opinion of
some Indian
and
European
scholars.

ब्रह्माणि जनयन्त विप्राः—Rk. 7. 22. 9 etc.

यत्र ऋषयोजगमुः प्रथमाः पुराणाः—वाजसनेयीसंहिता १८।१५ ।

यत्कामः ऋषिर्यत्यां देवतायां अर्थापत्यमिच्छन् स्तुतिं प्रयुङ्क्ते तत्तदेवतः
स मन्त्रोभवति—निरुक्त ८।१

यस्य वाक्यं स ऋषिः—सर्वानुक्रमणी ४ ।

अर्थेऽस्य ऋषयः देवताश्छन्दोभिरभ्यधावन्—ऋग्वेदानुक्रमणी ७ ।

1 Amongst these scholars the names of Pandit Umeśa Chandra Vidyaratna and Prof. Avinaśa Chandra Das may be mentioned.

The lower possible limit for this event Müller now places at about 1500 B.C., but this is not recognised by other scholars. Brunhofer more recently has suggested 2800 B.C. as the terminus; while the last writers on the subject Bāla Gangādhara Tilak and Prof. H. Jacobi claim to have discovered that the period from 6000 to 2500 B.C.; represents the age of the composition of the Vedic verses. But their conclusions have been disputed by many orientalists.

Both Bāla Gangādhara Tilak and H. Jacobi started from astronomical datas found in Vedic literatures and came to the the above conclusion independent of each other. They say that at the time of the Brāhmaṇs the Kṛttikās coincided with the vernal equinox but in the Vedic limes it is found that vernal equinox was on Mrgaśīrāḥ. From astronomical calculations it is found that the vernal equinox fell on the Pleiades about 2500 B.C. and on the Orion about 4500 B.C. From this Tilak concluded that the Vedic text and Brāhmaṇs were collected between 6000 and 2500 B.C. According to B. G. Tilak the oldest period in the Aryan civilization, which may be called the Aditi or the pre-Orion period, roughly extends from 6000 to 4000 B.C. In this period "the *finished* hymns do not seem

Bālagangā-
dhara
Tilak and
H. Jacobi
on the age
of the Veda.

Pre-Orion period. to have been known and half-prose and half-poetical Nivids or sacrificial formulae (giving the principal names, epithets, and feats of the deity invoked) were probably in use.

Orion period. The second period, called the Orion period roughly speaking extended from 4000 B.C. to 2500 B.C. This was the most important period in the history of the Aryan civilization. In this period a good many Sūktas in the Rgveda were composed and several legends were either formed anew or developed from the older ones. The Greeks and the Parsis appear to have left their common home during the latter part of this period.

Kṛttika period. The third or the Kṛttika period extends from 2500 B.C. to 1400 B.C. In this period the Taittiriya Saṃhitā and several other Brāhmaṇas were composed. The hymns of the Rgveda had already become antique and unintelligible and the Brāhmvādins indulged in speculations.

Sūtra period. The fourth and the last period of the old Sanskrit literature extends from 1400 B.C. to 500 B.C. It was the period of Sūtras and philosophical systems. It is the real pre-Buddhistic period. (vide Orion pp. 206-8).

But H. Jacobi, in his own way, arrives at the conclusion that the Vedic texts were composed about 4500 B.C. and extended to 2500 B.C. He was confirmed by another astronomical consideration. It is found in the *Gr̥hya Sūtras* that the bride and the bride-groom had to sit upon a bull's hide after reaching their new home till the stars were visible. The bride-groom had to point out the polar star (*Dhruva*) to the bride and ask her to be as strong as the star in conjugal fidelity. In 2780 B.C. the star *Dhruva* was near the pole. The wedding hymn of the *R̥gveda* (X. 35) does not mention this custom. So Jacobi supposes this custom to be post-Vedic. Thus in his opinion the *R̥gvedic* period lies before 2780 B.C.

H. Jacobi
on the age
of the Veda.

Mr. D. N. Mukhopaddhyāya in an article—The Hindu Nakshatras—has recently proved from astronomical datas that the first three Vedic strata extend respectively from 16000 to 14500 B.C.; from 14500 to 13000 B.C. and from 13000 to 11600 B.C. Besides, he has given two other strata covering the periods 11600—9600 B.C., and 9600—6600 B.C. respectively. The opinion of these oriental scholars has been criticized by European scholars but the argument advanced for the purpose are not at all satisfactory.

D. N.
Mukhopā-
dhyāya on
the point.

Opinion of
Kāmesvar
Aiyar. Lately B. V. Kāmesvar Aiyar too has proved from astronomical datas that the Brāhmaṇs belong to a period of 2300 to 2000 B.C. and this corresponds to the date fixed by B. G. Tilak.

Winternitz. Prof. Winternitz, on philological and historical grounds, believes that the date assumed by Tilak and Jacobi is nearer to the mark than that adopted by Maxmüller, Oldenberg, Macdonell and Keith.

Prof. Thibaut. Prof. Thibaut versed in oriental astronomy has warned us against such astronomical calculations regarding the date of the Vedas or any antiquarian researches, as the old Hindu year began in any season and any bright star served the purpose of the star *Dhruva*.

Ketkar's view. V. B. Ketkar says that it is found in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III. 4.1.5) that there was an eclipse when the Jupiter covered the Puṣyā star which occurred in 4660 B.C. and therefore the Ṛgvedic period must go before that time.

Paurāṇic view. According to some scholars who base their calculations on the Purāṇas, the war of Kurukṣetra was fought in the year 1921 B.C. and the Vedas were divided and arranged before that time and hence the time of composition of the Vedic hymns does not

contradict the time given by H. Jacobi or B. G. Tilak.

The recent excavation of Mahendra-dvar (Mohenjo Daro) in Sind and the cuneiform inscriptions describing the civilisation of Assyria, Babylonia, Sumeria and the valleys of the modern Tigris and Euphratis point to the same conclusion.

Mahenjo
Daro.

The discoveries made by Hugo Wintiller in Boghazkoi in Asia Minor in 1907 throw some light on the Vedic age. It is seen in some clay tablets found there that contracts were concluded between the King of the Hittites (14th. Cen. B.C.) and the king of Mittani. Some Babylonian and native deities are invoked there as protectors of these contracts. Among which the name of Mi-ti-ra, U-rá-w-na, In-dar, Na-sa-a (t-ti-ia-a) n-na, corresponding to the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya are important. According to the historian Edward Meyer, this refers to the period when Indian and Iranian branches of Aryans formed but one people. But Oldernberg and Keith looked upon these names as those of an old Iranian people, closely related to the Vedic Indians. Leaving aside the conjectures of these two scholars it can boldly be said that the discovery is not very valuable as to the age of the Vedas.

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Hugo
Wintiller.

It is admitted, on all hands, both by oriental and occidental scholars that the whole Vedic literature is pre-Buddhistic and hence existed before 600 B.C.

The antiquity of Vedic hymns is also seen from internal evidence. The language of the hymn, their versification and accentuation differing greatly from those of Brāhmaṇs and classical literatures, are proofs of their antiquity. The geographical, social, political and economic conditions as reflected in the hymns of the R̥gveda are quite different from those found in the Brāhmaṇs and in the Samhitās of the Yajurveda. This fact also establishes their antiquity.

The Vedic Concordance of M. Bloomfield and his R̥gveda Repetitions make us believe that at the time when the bulk of the hymns were composed there existed already a great number of verses which were considered as a common property of all. The incidental references to some events in the hymns of the R̥gveda too point to the above conclusion. There was a great gap between these verses and those of the samhitā. Besides it is proved from Inscriptions that in the 3rd. century B.C. Southern India was already overrun by Aryan Indian ; but Southern India had a civilization of its own

Antiquity
of Vedic
hymn from
internal
proofs.

External
evidence.

INTRODUCTION

which was in no way inferior to Aryan civilisation. The tale of Pururavāh and Urvasī in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13-18) and the glimpse of human sacrifice found in the legend of शुनःशेष are important documents for Indian civilisation. It can safely be concluded that centuries must have passed between the composition of the R̥gvedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇs, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. We reserve our opinion on the matter, and are content to say only that the hymns of the Vedas originated in the hoary age of antiquity.

Each Veda consists of two parts—the Mantra or Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇa or commentary,¹ explaining respectively the nature of धर्म and ब्रह्म². The मन्त्र s are indicative of materials and deities ancillary to Vedic rites and rituals, while the Brāhmaṇs contain in them the विधि, अर्थवाद and वाक्योक्त्य. There are four sorts of विधि—उत्पत्ति, अधिकार, विनियोग and प्रयोग. The first explains the nature of the rite, the second speaks of the result that would follow, the third shows the relation which the rite bears to its parts and the fourth

General
division
of the
Vedas.

Vidhi—its
Kinds.

1 मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्—आपस्तम्ब यज्ञपरिभाषा ।

2 From धर्म originated the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā and from ब्रह्म, the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā.

proves that all the above three converge to produce an undivided result. विधि is defined as one expressing things unknown either persuades a man to or dissuades him from his undertaking. This again is divided under three heads—गुणवाद, अनुवाद and भूतार्थवाद. गुणवाद prevails when a thing is contradicted by other evidences ; अनुवाद only speaks of things established by other proofs and भूतार्थवाद comes in when there is neither agreement nor discord between the thing and the evidences.¹ वाक्यवाद is sometimes called विधि as it expresses things unknown and sometimes भूतार्थवाद as it is self-evident truth without commendatory words. The earlier chapters of the Brāhmaṇs explain the mode of ceremonials and some passages of the Vedic texts ; the middle chapters treat of ceremonies not included in the Brāhmaṇs ; and the final chapters deal with theogonical thoughts and invocations to different deities. These are respectively known as Brāhmaṇ proper, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣd. According to orthodox views all these are *Śruti* or *what is heard*.

Arrange-
ment of
Brāhmaṇs

विरोधे गुणवादः स्यादनुवादोऽन्वयविरतिः ।
भूतार्थवादस्तद्धानादर्थवादस्त्रिधामतः ॥

For the collection and printing of the manuscript of the Vedas we are indebted very largely to European scholars. It was through their untiring zeal and energy that the Vedas were saved from the devastation of white ants, and the collection of Vedic manuscripts first saw the light. Without their help and labour these valuable works of the ancient Aryans would have survived only in name. Among ancient Europeans, one Robert de Nobilius, a Jesuit Missionary, first tried to collect the Vedas but was deceived by some clever pandit of Madras who composed a false *Ezurvedam* and palmed it off on him. Voltaire sent it to the Royal Library of France under the wrong impression that it was really the Yajurveda. Then came Mr. Colebrooke who also tried his best to collect the Vedas. But he also was deceived by a Mahratta Brāhmaṇa and shared the same fate with his predecessor. At last, through the unwearied endeavour of Colonel Polier, the manuscripts of all the four Vedas were collected from Joypur and sent to the British Museum in 1789.

Collection
of Vedic
Manu-
scripts.

Before the 6th century B.C. the western world was almost in the dark in relation to the learning of the Indians, and it was only after Alexander's invasion that the

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Greek, to a certain extent, came to be acquainted with Indian literature. The Arabs, in the Middle Ages, introduced this branch of Indian knowledge to Europe. From the 16th century onward a few western Christian Missionaries acquired some familiarity with this Indian branch of science. Abraham Roger, a Dutch missionary, translated the Bhattikāvya into Dutch in 1651. He translated besides the proverbs of भट्टहरि into English. The name of the Jesuit father Johann Hanxleden should not be omitted here. He worked in the Mālabār mission and his "Grammatica Granthamia Samscrdumica" was the first Sanskrit grammar written by a European. It was never printed. Bartholomeo, who wrote two other Sanskrit grammars (1776-89), derived much help from the Sanskrit grammar of Johann Hanxleden.

The eighteenth century is a great epoch in the history of Sanskrit Literature. From this time onward many European scholars engaged themselves in the critical study and discussion of the Sanskrit language. These investigations and critical studies have resulted in two new branches of science, viz., Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology and in the preparation of an Encyclopaedia covering the whole domain.

Discovery
of Sanskrit
in Europe.

Christian
missionaries'
works.

The 18th
century and
its impor-
tance in the
West.

of Indo-Aryan Philology and Archeology under the title "Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie and Altertumskunde." This book was being published in parts by Prof. Bühler of Vienna with the help of some thirty specialists of various nationalities at Strassburg. After the death of Bühler the editorship fell on the shoulders of Kielhorn of Gottingen. Now the book is being published under the editorship of Lüders and Wackernagel.

Then came Prof. Rosen who published a few hymns of the R̥gveda in 1830 in London. After his death, the first Aṣṭaka of the R̥gveda with his Latin translation was published in Calcutta in 1838. This attracted much attention and led to the foundation of Vedic studies in France under the leadership of the great orientalist, Eugene Burnouf. Rudolf Roth, his celebrated pupil, wrote a booklet "On the Literature and History of the Veda," which came out in 1846. The publication of the work popularised the study of the Vedas in Germany. Some portions of this book were translated into English by Mr. Muir and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society in 1847—48. On the motion of Mr. Lydley, the proposal of publishing this Bibliotheca Indica was

Editions of
the Vedas
and essays
thereon by
European
scholars,

accepted unanimously at a meeting of the Asiatic Society in 1847. Dr. Roer accordingly published the first and second Aṣṭakas of the Ṛgveda with their English translation in 1847 ; but, on hearing that Prof. Maxmüller was publishing the whole of the Ṛgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary and with Prof. Wilson's English translation under the supervision and patronage of the East India Company, he gave up his endeavour. Prof. Müller's Ṛgveda with introduction and word-index came out in six parts between 1849—75. He published also the first Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda with the Paḍapāṭha between 1856—59 and the whole text of the Veda in Roman Character with his own Index in 1877. The Ṛgveda was in parts translated into French between 1848-51 by various scholars and wholly in 1870 by L. Langlois in Paris. Alfred Ludwig in 1876 and Hermann Grassmann in 1876—77 translated and published the whole of the Ṛgveda in the German language. Prof. Roth and Botthlingk published a Sanskrit-German Dictionary between 1853—75 in St. Petersburg in seven folio volumes. It is indeed a brilliant monument to German industry. Dr. Roth published also the Nirukta of Yāska between 1848—52.

Maxmüller's
edition of
the Ṛgveda
with
Wilson's
English
translation.

French
translation
of the
Ṛgveda.

German
translation
of the
Ṛgveda.

St. Peters-
burgh
Dictionary

with his own notes and commentary. Dr. Haug published the text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in Roman Character in two parts in 1863. Mr. Stenzler published the Gṛhya Sūtra of Āṣvalāyana with German translation in 1864—65, and Prof. Hermann Oldenberg published the Sāṅkhyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra in Weber's *Indische Studien* with translations and notes that very year. Regnier, the French scholar, published the Śaunaka Prātiśākhya of the Rgveda with commentary and translation in 1857—58 in Paris. Prof. Maxmüller published another edition of this book between 1856—69 with a German translation. Prof. Weber published the Chandahsūtra of Pingala in Roman character in 1863 in his *Indische Studien* and the *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* in 1858. Rudolf Mayor published *Rgvidhāna* and *Bṛhaddevatā* in 1877 with his own introduction. Dr. Fitz Edward Hall published a portion of the Rāvaṇa Bhāṣya of the Rgveda in the Asiatic Researches of 1862. Besides, through the energy of a number of western scholars the *Ṣadvimśa Brāhmaṇ*, the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇ*, the *Kṛiṣṇa Yajurveda*, the *Śukla Yajurveda*, the *Atharva Veda*, the *Śārāraka Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya and several other important Upaniṣads have also been

Various other texts, and translations published by various European scholars.

Mis-
cellaneous
works in
English on
the Vedic
and classical
literatures
by various
Scholars.

published. They, from time to time, have moreover written a number of essays on Vedic and Paurāṇic literatures along with some important texts. Of these the Essays of Colebrooke, Maxmüller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, Chips from a German Workshop, India and What It Can Teach us, Science of Language, Vedic Hymns in the 32nd and 40th Vols of the Sacred Series of the East, Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy ; Macdonell's India's Past, the History of Sanskrit Literature, Vedic Grammar etc. ; Keith's Drama, the History of Sanskrit Literature, Aitareya Āraṇyaka ; Macdonell and Keith's Vedic Index ; Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, Vedic Religion and Ṛgveda Repetition ; Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts in five Vols. ; Sacred Series of the East in 49 Vols, under the general editorship of Maxmüller are very important. Mention should also be made here of T. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* containing catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts of all important libraries of India and Europe ; prof. J. W. Rhys David's Pali Text Society and A. Weber's the Writing of the Jains which have rendered great help to the investigation of the Buddhistic and Jaina literatures.

PIONEERS OF SANSKRIT STUDIES.

The needs of practical administration stimulated the study of Sanskrit among Europeans in India. Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, finding it advantageous to rule India through her own laws, caused a digest to be made by some pandits based on ancient legal authorities. At the expense of the East India Company this came out in 1776. The work is known as *Virādārṇavaśetu*. This deals specially with the Indian law of inheritance and family laws etc, under the caption "A Code of Gentoo Law." The book was translated into German and was published in Hamburg in 1778.

Study of
Sanskrit by
Europeans.

1. **Charles Wilkins** (afterwards sir Charles) was persuaded by Warren Hastings to learn Sanskrit in Benares and published a translation of the Bhagavad-gītā in 1785 and that of Hitopadeśa in 1787. The translation of the former was the first of its kind that was directly rendered into English, nay into European languages, from the original Sanskrit for the first time. In 1795 he translated Śakuntalā, an episode

of the Mahābhārta and in 1808 wrote a Sanskrit Grammar in which Sanskrit scripts were used for the first time in Europe.

2. Sir William Jones (1746-94), the famous oriental scholar, founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 for the propagation of Sanskrit studies and roused a keen interest in the study of Indian antiquity. He translated Kālidasa's Śakuntalam into English in 1789. This was rendered into German in 1791 by George Forster. This book in its new guise fascinated critics of such undoubted competence as Goethe and Herder.¹

1 "Wilt thou blossoms of spring and the fruits that are later in seasons ?
Wilt thou have charms and delight, wilt thou have strength and support ?
Wilt thou with one short word encompass the earth and heaven ?
All is said if I say only, Śakuntalā thee"—Goethe.

"It is here that the mind and character of a nation is but brought to life before us ; and gladly I admit that I have received a truer and more real notion of the manners of thinking among the ancient Indians from this one Śakuntalā than all their Upaniṣads and Bhāgavats."—Herder.

George Forster's German translation of Śakuntalā roused enthusiasm among literary circle in Europe and it was looked upon as "a Wonder coming from the land of wonders."

In 1830 Chezy, the French editor of the text of Śakuntalā writes thus—"The First time when I became aware of this unfathomable work, it excited such an enthusiasm in me and attracted me so much that I never left off studying it and even felt myself urged on to the impossible task of adopting it, at least in some way, to the German stage."

In 1792 he translated *R̥tusamhār* (Cycle of Seasons) with Sanskrit texts. It was followed by the translation of the Code of Manu in 1794.

3. **Alexander Hamilton** was made a prisoner of war in France by the order of Napoleon on his way home to England from India. He was a great oriental scholar and taught Sanskrit to a few eminent men of letters from within the four walls of the prison. Among these scholars one was

4. **Friedrich Schlegel**. He was a great German Romantic poet and published his work *Die Über Sprache Und Weisheit der Indier* (*On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians*) in 1808. He was a pioneer for the study of Sanskrit in Europe. He published the conjugation of Sanskrit verbs in 1816. He demonstrated herein the common origin of Indo-Aryan languages. From 1821 he was professor of oriental languages at Berlin. His great work—A comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greeks, Zend, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Slovanic, Gothic and German—was published in six volumes between 1833-52. It was translated into English by Eastwell. The publication of this book was a corner-stone in the foundation of the science of comparative

philology in the hand of Franz Bopp¹ and it fostered the study of Sanskrit in Germany. He translated the *Gītā* in Latin. This translation attracted the notice of Wilhelm von Humboldt who praised it as "the profoundest and the loftiest thing the world has ever seen."

5. **Henry Thomas Colebrooke** (1765-1837), as has been said before, tried in vain to collect the manuscript of the Vedas. He was born in London in 1765. His legal functions led him to study Indian law and learn Sanskrit. From 1794 he began to write essays on Indian religion, poetry and science in the *Asiatic Researches*. In 1798 he translated from the Sanskrit *the Digest of the Hindu Law on contracts and successions* and it was published in four volumes. While acting as a judge of the New Court of Appeal in Calcutta he was appointed a professor of Hindu law and Sanskrit at the College of Fort William. In 1805 he published his first volume of Sanskrit Grammar and began to write his famous

¹ In 1819 F. Bopp published the Sanskrit text of *Nalopākhyān* with Latin translation. This was considered as one of the gems of the poetry of the world. It has been translated into almost all European languages and is selected as the preliminary reading for students in all Western Universities. His Sanskrit Grammar (1827-34) and his *Glossarium Sanscritum* have done much towards the furtherance of Sanskrit study in Germany.

articles on the Vedas. It was this attempt of Mr. Colebrooke that brought for the first time the knowledge of Vedic literature into Europe. He published besides many texts, translations and essays, among which the names of Amara Kośa, Hitopadeśa, Kirātāryuniyam and the grammar of Pāṇini may be mentioned. On his retirement he presented to the East India Company a collection of manuscripts worth £ 100,000 which is still preserved in the India office in London.

After the Vedas come the Vedāṅgas. They are six in number, viz., Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇ, Nirukta, Candah and Yyotiṣ. Besides there are the Purāṇas, Nyāya Mīmāṃsā and Dharma Śāstras.¹ The four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, the Purāṇ, Nyāya Mīmāṃsā and Dharma Śāstras go by the general name of fourteen Vidyās.² These

Vedāṅgas
and other
branches of
science.

1. There are eighteen purāṇas and an equal number of Upapurāṇas, all attributed to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. Nyāya includes Vaiśeṣik Darśan also. Mīmāṃsā comprises both Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsās. The Rāmāyaṇ, the Mahābhārat, the Sāmkhya, the Pātanjali, the Pāśupat, the Vaiṣṇava and other Darśans are included in Dharmaśāstras. These are known by the general term Smṛti. Besides these Āstika Darśans there are six Nāstika Darśans also, but they are not included in the fourteen kinds of Vidyā as they are not useful in the realisation of human pursuits.

2 पुराणन्याय-मीमांसा-धर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।

वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यायां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

fourteen Vidyās along with the four Upavedas, viz., आयुर्वेद, धनुर्वेद, गान्धर्ववेद and शिल्पवेद form what is technically called अष्टादश प्रस्थान. Mahopādhyāya Madhusūdan Sarasvatī, the pride of Bengal, has dealt with these briefly in his “अष्टादशप्रस्थान” and has shown that all these tend to the realization of Brahma.

The development of religion and philosophical thought in Sanskrit literature is also noteworthy. The lofty height which the Indo-Aryan intellect had attained is conclusively borne testimony to by a careful perusal of these works. In ancient India the spread of education amongst all ranks of people had its desired effect of making society sober and raising its moral tone. The philosophical literature of India again bears testimony to the high speculative powers of her people. Ever since the period of Aryan invasion Indian civilisation and religion have developed side by side without being affected by foreign influences. It is this isolation by which the Indians were able to retain the individuality of their own faith and culture in spite of a number of invasions and conquests by different nations at different times.

The history of ancient Indian literature falls chiefly into two periods—the Vedic

Religious
and philo-
sophical
works and
originality
of sanskrit.

INTRODUCTION

3

Principal
periods of
Sanskrit
literature
—their
subdivi-
sions.

and the Classical or Sanskrit. According to some eminent scholars, as has already been said, the former covers the period beginning from 3000 B.C. and extending to 200 B.C. This may again be subdivided into three literary strata according to differences in language and style and also in religion and social views. These sub-divisions, so to say, are the Samhitā period, the Brāhmaṇ period and the Śūtra period. The first stage extends from 3000 B. C. to 1400 B. C. the second from 1400 B. C. to 800 B. C. and the third from 800 B. C. to 200 B. C. The first two stages are, no doubt, the Vedic stages, but the third, i.e. the Śūtra period, is not really so. This, to speak the truth, belongs to the latter period and is the source of all literatures designated as स्मृति. The latter (i.e. the Sanskrit or Classical period) extends from 200 B. C. to 1000 A. D. or more strictly to the modern time. All but श्रुति come under this division.

“History,” says Macdonell, “is the one weak point in Indian literature.” He states two reasons to palliate this defect. First the Indians had not to struggle hard for their existence like the Romans or the Greeks and so they found no necessity for the development of political history.

Lack of
chronology.

Secondly, the Brāhmaṇas whose task it was to chronicle all great events, did not care to record historical events, for to them all action, nay, existence itself—was a positive evil. So in matters historical we do not get definite dates till we come to about 500 A. D. The reasons assigned by the learned Professor are not, however, convincing. The Indians have a peculiar conception of History or Itihāsh (as they call it) by which they mean a treatise diversified by narrative and conducive to the attainment of virtue, wealth and salvation.¹ We get a systematic history, for instance, in the Vedic and Paurāṇic literatures of India. Dr. Roth remarks, "According to my conviction, no more essential service could be rendered to the history of the ancient East, perhaps to the whole of ancient history, than to make known and exactly investigate the Vedic writings." Colonel Todd also in his preface to *Rājasthān* is of opinion that the Indians who improved every other branch of science could not but have written histories, which perhaps have been lost in the successive tides of invasion which have passed over the country. But

Indian
conception
of history.

धम्मार्थिकाममोक्षाणामुपदेशसमन्वितम्
पूर्ववृत्तं कथायुक्तमितिहासं प्रवक्षते ॥

INTRODUCTION

the chief defect of this kind of history is that it does not give us a reliable frame-work of dates.

To prepare a chronological history of ancient India, we shall have mainly recourse to the Vedic and classical literatures of the country. Besides the account of the foreign travellers, such as, Fa Hian who came to India in the reign of Candragupta II. (Vikramāditya), Hiouen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) who visited India in king Harṣa's time and I. Tsing (671-95); ancient coins, copper-plate-grants and inscriptions on rocks and pillars furnish us with historical materials for the construction of the ancient history of India. These have shed light not only on the chronology of some Sanskrit poets, but also upon the religious and social condition of India in the past.

Materials
for the con-
struction
of the
ancient
history of
India.

Epigraphical researches have thrown some light on the history of Indian script. The Aśoka inscriptions are taken by some to be the earliest records of Indian writing. Prof. Winternitz says thus against it—"Palaeographic facts prove undeniably that writing cannot have been a new invention as late as the time of Aśoka, but must already have had a long history behind it." (Vide Winternitz's Indian

Indian
scripts—
their
varieties.

Literature, p. 31., Vol. I). Some scholars have suggested that two types of script were known in ancient India—the Khāroṣṭhī and the Brāhmī. These were written respectively *from right to left* and *from left to right*. Another version is that once both these were written *from right to left*. According to Dr. Bühler the former was employed in Gāndhār from 400 B.C. to 200 A.D. and was borrowed from the Aramaic type of Semitic writing; while the latter, the true national writing of India, was introduced about 800 B.C. by traders coming by way of Mesopotamia. Some occidental scholars are of opinion that the complete Indian alphabet existed about 500 B.C. But Prof. Gold Stucker in his *Introduction to Pāṇini* has proved conclusively from both internal and external evidences that letters were known to Pāṇini, who according to him flourished about 800 B.C. Thus existence of letter is in his opinion pre-Pāṇinian. These opinions of Western scholars do not seem to be convincing. The Śaḍvimśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda, the Chāndyogya and the Mundaka Upaniṣads mention the name of six Vedāṅgas. Śikṣā is one of the Vedāṅgas. This deals with vowels and consonants, accents and euphonic

Opinion of
Dr. Bühler.

Opinions
of some
Western
scholars.

Evidence of
Brāhmaṇs
and Upani-
ṣads etc.

combinations etc. This clearly shows that the origin of script goes back as far as 1400 B. C., which is supposed to be the lowest limit of the Brāhmaṇ period by many modern scholars. छान्दोग्य Upaniṣad again speaks of the vowels, gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals; labials and the sibilants.¹ Prof. Weber in his edition of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ, where the mention of singular and plural number is found, (Vide D. A. Weber's Edition p. 990), has proved that the time when Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ was written the Sanskrit Grammar had attained its perfection. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇ not only corroborates his views but in 1.2.5 speaks clearly of letters, words and their varieties. Gopatha Brāhmaṇ also has (1.24) letters, words and sentences etc. incorporated into it. Rgvedic hymns also do not seem to favour the views of the Western scholars but point to the reverse conclusion. From them we learn that it was the paṇis (with whom the Phoenicians are identified by many scholars) that stole the Vedas which were recovered by Brahmanaspati, and this could not have been possible

Opinion of
Mr. Weber.

Aitareya
Brāhmaṇa.

¹ सर्व्वेस्वरा इन्द्रस्य आत्मानः सर्व्वे उष्माणः प्रजापतेरात्मानः सर्व्वे
स्पर्शामृत्योरात्मानः etc—छान्दोग्य २।२।३,—५।

Pāṇjali
Mahābhāṣya.

if the Vedas had existed only in speeches and not in writing. Besides the verses चत्वारि शृङ्गान्नयोऽस्यपादा etc. (R. V. 4, 58, 4), चत्वारिवाक् परिमितापदानि (R. V. 1. 165. 45), उत्तत्त्वपश्यन् नददर्शवाचम् (R. V. 10. 71. 4), सक्तुमिदं तित्तिउना पूनन्तः (R. V. 10. 71. 2) etc., quoted by Pāṇjali in his Mahābhāṣya clearly point to the use of words in their refined sub-divisions. Poet Bhāsa who possibly flourished in the 4th century B.C. speaks thus in his Pañcarātra—“दृष्टपरिस्पन्दानां योऽपुरुषाणां कर्माणि पुस्तकमारोपयति कुमारः ।” Besides, the Rāmāyaṇa which in its germinal form was undoubtedly composed before 1500 B.C., has the following lines at the close of Lankākāṇḍa :—“विनायकाश्च शाम्यन्ति गृहे तिष्ठति यस्य वै ।” “ऐश्वर्यं पुत्रलाभश्च भविष्यति न संशयः । रामायणमिदं कृत्स्नं श्रुत्वा ततः पठतः सदा ॥” “भक्त्या रामस्य ये चेमां संहितामृषिणा कृताम् ।” ये लिखन्तीह च नरास्तेषां वासस्त्रिविष्टे ॥” All these clearly show that writing was fully known to the Aryans long before the time of Aśoka and before 800 B.C. The Bactrian is avowedly not so full as Pāli, its vowels being fewer and consonants deficient. Far less tenable is the theory of the Bactrian origin of the Sanskrit script (which certainly existed before Pāli ; as the latter is only a dialectic variation of the former) as the Bactrian is of too recent a date to be

Bactrian
origin of
Sanskrit
scripts.

supposed to be the earliest medium for writing Sanskrit. The Dravadian origin of Pāli, as well as of Sanskrit, is also to be discarded as the very fulness of Pāli, possibly the first dialectic form of Sanskrit, is opposed to the theory of Tamilian origin. Considering all these points it is fairly certain that the art of writing was known even in the Vedic age and had an independent origin of it.

Dravadian
origin of
Sanskrit.

The Brāhmī script¹ from which have originated Nāgri and other scripts prevailing in all the Aryan dialects of India, is of two types—the Northern and the Southern. They are noticed in the inscriptions of the 3rd century. From the Khāroṣṭhī descended the characters employed in the Canarese and the Telegu country.

Varieties
of Brāhmī.

Birch bark, palm leaf, śāchī and plates of brass, copper and stone, were the materials on which Indian manuscripts were written. Paper was introduced after Mahomedan conquest. The use of ink was perhaps introduced in the 2nd. century B. C. Before this palm leaves etc, were scratched with a stilus and the characters were blackened by soot of charcoal.

Writing
materials.

1. May it refer to the script with which Brāhma or Veda was written? The pauranic legend is that it originated from Brahmā.

Sanskrit
a spoken
language.

A close and careful study of Sanskrit literature will convince the reader that Sanskrit was a spoken language from pre-historic times. Yāska, Pāṇini and Patañjali speak of Sanskrit as Bhāṣā or spoken language as opposed to the literary one, though there existed some dialectical and provincial differences.¹ Kātyāyana speaks of logical differences, while Patañjali of words occurring only in a single district.² From this it can fairly be concluded that till the 2nd century B. C. Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole of Āryāvarta. The distribution of the dialect in Sanskrit Dramas also shows that the use of Sanskrit speech was not confined to the Brāhmaṇas only but also prevailed among men of many higher classes as well as among men of letters. According to Dr. Winternitz Sanskrit is not a dead language even now. It is in this language that Indian scholars converse on scientific questions as yet. He further says that Sanskrit plays the

Dr. Winter-
nitz's view.

1 “प्रागुदञ्चौविभजते हंसः क्षीरोदकेयथा ।

विदुषां शब्दसिद्धयर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती ॥ Quoted by Kaśikā.

2 “शवति गतिक्रमां कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितोभवति । विकार-

त्रनमाय्यां भाषन्ते शव इति । हस्मन्तिः क्षराष्ट्रेषु, दात्रमुदीच्येषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमध्येषु, गमिमेव त्वाय्याः प्रयुज्जते । दातिर्लवनार्थं प्राच्येषुः दात्रमुदीच्येषु.....” महाभाष्य p. 29. Benares Edition.

same part in India still "as Latin in the middle ages in Europe or as Hebrew with the Jews." (Vide History of Indian Literature Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927, p. 45).

Almost all Indian dialects have sprung from Sanskrit ; but it is still a matter of dispute when Prākṛit first came into being. According to Patañjali there are only two sorts of pure language—the *Vaidic* and the *Laṅkik*. All other languages and dialects are but mutilated forms of these two and generally go by the name of *Apabhraṃśa*. Prākṛit with all its varieties is apabhraṃśa. A close study of Vedic hymns would show that Prākṛit descended from Vedic and not from classical Sanskrit. Pāli is another apabhraṃśa dialect. The earliest Buddhist literature composed in Pāli about the 5th. century B.C., proves the antiquity of that language. The introduction of Sanskrit verses in Pāli inscriptions proves that the two languages flourished side by side even in olden days.

Sanskrit is the source of all Indian dialects.

Sanskrit exercised a great influence in the religious literature of India, and so Buddhist and Jain teachers tried to learn it. This led to the composition of the Northern Buddhist texts in Sanskrit ; and the intermingling of the two languages

Influence of Sanskrit on the Buddhist and Jain literatures.

The Gāthā (Sanskrit and Pāli) gave rise to a new type of language called Gāthā in which Lalitavistāra, the life of Buddha, was written.

Sanskrit language again was largely influenced by Prākṛt. It assimilated a large number of words from Prākṛit with their accents.

The very name Prākṛt denotes its descent from some original source and this source as has been shown before is Sanskrit. Daṇḍī too in his Kāvya-darśa speaks in the same strain.¹ But there are scholars who take it as an original language. Sir George Grierson classifies it under three heads—

(1) Primary Prākṛts, the source of Vedic and classical Sanskrit; (2) Secondary Prākṛts comprising Pāli and other mutilated forms represented in dramatic and Pāli literature and called Apabhraṃśa by grammarians; (3) and the modern Vernaculars. At first there were only two types of Prākṛit—the Eastern and the Western. These, in the middle ages, were divided into

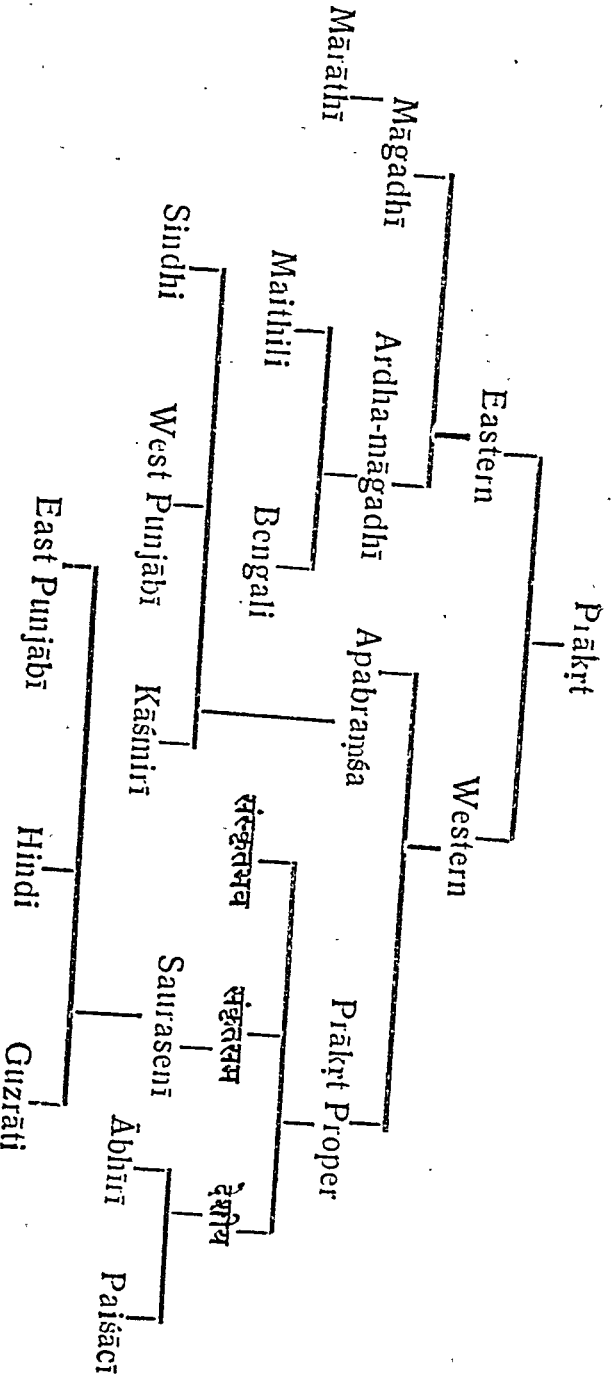
Sir George Grierson and the division of Prākṛt.

¹ तदेतद् वाङ्मयं भूयः संस्कृतं प्राकृतः तथा ।
अपत्रं शश्च मिश्रञ्चेत्यादुराख्याश्चतुर्विधम् ॥

संस्कृतं नाम दैवीवागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः ।
तद्भवस्तत्समोदेशीत्यनेकप्राकृतक्रमः ॥ काव्यादर्श १।३२-३३ ।

four main sections—Māgadhi and Ardha-Māgadhi in the East and Apabhramśa and Śauraseni in the West. From Māgadhi came Mārāthi and from Ardha-Māgadhi the Bengali and Maithili. Sindhi, West Punjabi and Kāsmiri originated from Apabhramśa ; from Śauraseni descended the East Punjabi, Hindi (the old Avanti) and Gujrati. In Aśvaghoṣa's dramas we meet with the old Māgadhi, the old Ardha-Māgadhi and old Śauraseni types of Prākṛt. Mahāraṣṭri and Śauraseni types are found in Jaina literatures. It is said that the Brhatkathā of Guṇādhyāya was written in Paisāchi Prākṛt. The Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata mentions several varieties of Śauraseni (such as, Dākṣiṇāṭya, Āvanti and Takki) and Māgadhi (such as, Chandāli and Śakāri) Prākṛts. We give below a **genealogical table** showing the varieties of Prākṛit and the source of all modern Vernaculars.

General
divisions
of Prākṛt.



Exercise

1. Describe the origin and development of the Vedas and state the relation of the Atharva Veda to three other Vedas.

2. Explain the term ऋग्वेद and discuss the statement—"Atharva Veda was composed long after the composition of the other three Vedas."

3. Name the principal priests of the Vedas and their respective functions.

4. Discuss the age of Vedic literatures.

5. What do you know of the general division of the Vedas ?

6. State how the manuscripts of the Vedas were collected.

7. Give a short account of the principal European scholars that devoted themselves to the study of Sanskrit in the 18th. and 19th. centuries, (C.U. 1916 Pass.)

8. Describe briefly the influence which Sanskrit literature has received from and exercised upon the nations of the West. (C.U. 1920 Pass.)

9. Give a brief account of the labours of early European scholars in introducing the study of Sanskrit in the West. (C. U. 1922. Hons.)

10. Describe briefly the influence of sanskrit literature on the West in the last century (C.U. 1923 Pass.)

11. Indicate the services rendered to the cause of Sanskrit literature either by Sir. William Jones or by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, (C.U. 1915. Pass.)

12. Give a concise account of Henry Thomas Colebrooke as a pioneer of Sanskrit studies. (C.U. 1913. Pass.)

13. Give the principal periods of Sanskrit literature and their divisions.

14. Discuss the statement of Prof. Macdonell — "History is one weak point in Indian literature".

15. What materials are there for the construction of the ancient history of India ?

16. Discuss Macdonell's theory of the origin and development of the Sanskrit alphabets. What probable date does he assign to the origin ? (C.U. 1910 Pass.)

17. Name the two kinds of script known in ancient India, and indicate some of their prominent characteristics with the probable dates of their introduction or use in anicent India. (C.U. 1929. Hons.)

18. What evidences can be adduced to prove the existence of a popular language, as distinguished from a literary one in ancient India ? Mention four classes of the Prākṛt from which the Bengali language has descended. (C.U. 1929 Hons.)

19. Adduce some evidence to show that Sanskrit was a spoken language in Northern India in the 2nd, century B.C. (C.U. 1928 Hons.)

20. Adduce some evidence to show that in the 2nd, century B.C. Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole of Āryāvarta. (C.U. 1927 Pass.)

21. State what you understand by the expression 'classical Sanskrit ?' (C.U. 1926 Pass.)

22. Describe the relation of Sanskrit to Prākṛt and Pāli. (C.U. 1915 and 1923 Hons.)

23. Trace the development of Prākṛt dialects. (C.U. 1914 Pass.)

CHAPTER I

THE RĠVEDA.

The word Veda means 'Knowledge :— the best of all knowledge in the eyes of the Aryans, or it means the ways with which perfect knowledge is attained. Ācārya Sāyaṇa, in his Introduction to the Rġveda, explains the term as the means which divulges the secret of true knowledge unattainable either by perception or by guess.¹ Most Hindus accept the whole Veda (the Samhitā portion as well as the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and the Upaniṣad portions) as inspired revelation, while the Ārya Samājist and members of some other sects hold the hymns alone as revealed literature. There are conflicting opinions as to the definition of the Veda. Jaimini in his Mīmāṃsā, though he does not define, yet gives expressly the idea of the Veda as a work consisting of मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण². Vedānta philosophy also accepts this as a correct definition. Kautilya in

प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न बुध्यते ।
 एतद्विदन्ति वेदेन तस्मात् वेदस्य वेदता ॥
 मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम् ।

his *Arthaśāstra* composed about the fourth century B. C. states that "the three Vedas Sāma, Ṛk and Yajuh constitute the triple Vedas. These together with the Atharva Veda and the Itihāsa Veda are known as the Vedas." In his opinion *Itihāsa* comprises the Purāṇas, Itivṛtta (history), Ākhyāna (tales), Udāharaṇas (illustrative stories), Dharmasāstra¹. and Arthaśāstra, Kautilya's definition is indeed wider than what is ordinarily accepted.

The Ṛgveda is the earliest poetry of the Indo-Aryans who are supposed to have settled on the North-Western borders of India and beyond the Punjab. This is a compilation of a very large number of hymns numbering 1028 according to Vāskala school and 1017 according to Śākala school, the 11 Bālakhilya hymns (49-59 Sūktas of Maṇḍala VIII) being excluded. The shortest hymn has only one stanza, while the longest one has fifty-eight. These hymns are distributed into eight Aṣṭakas or ten Maṇḍalas varying in their lengths. The hymns of the Veda according to some scholars were not originally written but handed down from father to

Description
of the
Ṛgveda
and its
critical
estimate.

¹ Revised Translation of Arthaśāstra by R. Sam Śastri (Bangalore Govt., Press 1915), Book I Chapters 3 & 5 pp 7-11.

son or from preceptor to disciple and hence the name *Śruti*. "The R̥gveda", as Whitney observes, "contains the germ of the whole after-development of Indian religion and poetry." It is respected by students of humanity because of its remote antiquity, its unique character and the light it sheds upon the evolution of mankind especially in India.

Original
portion of
the R̥gveda.

According to Western scholars Maṇḍalas II to VII (popularly known as Family Books) form the nucleus of the whole R̥gveda and are almost similar in their nature. The other books were subsequently added to them. In the opinion of others Maṇḍala IX was added to a book consisting of the first eight Maṇḍalas. The tenth Maṇḍala was only a recent addition.

Why should
a Vedic
scholar be
versed in
the
knowledge
of R̥ṣi,
metre etc.

According to Vedic teachers persons teaching or studying the Vedas must have knowledge of the seers to whom the hymns were revealed, the metres in which they are written and the deities invoked therein or they become sinful. Besides, they shall have knowledge of accent and application of the hymns. Without their knowledge the reverse result is produced.¹

1 अविदित्वा ऋषिं छन्दोदैवतं योगमेव च ।
ओऽध्यापयेत्जपेद्वापि पापीयान् जायते तु सः ॥

R̥sis—These hymns, as said before, were revealed to a number of sages called ऋषि (seers) at different times. They are the mediums of communication between gods and men. According to Yāska the ऋषि fall under two divisions—(1) those “seers” to whom the ऋषि was revealed and (2) the descendents or disciples of those to whom it was handed down by oral instructions.¹

Meaning of
R̥si or seer.

Metre—छन्दः or metre is one of the six *Vedāngas*. The roots छदि from which the word comes means *to cover*. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka says that छन्दः ‘covers or protects men from sinful actions. Or it is so called because it protects the Yajamāna from the heat of the fire he kindles.’ There is a legend in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā in this connection. According to this legend Prajāpati himself kindled fire to perform sacrifice. The fire he kindled assumed the form of a pointed weapon. The gods out of fear could not approach it. Then they covered themselves with छन्दः and approached it

Metres and
their
varieties.

ऋषिच्छन्दोदेवतानि ब्राह्मणार्थं स्वराद्यपि । अविदित्वा प्रयुञ्जानो
मन्त्रकण्ठक उच्यते ॥ स्वरो वर्णोऽक्षरं मात्रा विनियोगोऽर्थ एव च ।
मन्त्रजिज्ञासमानेन वेदितव्यं पदे पदे ॥ ऋषिच्छन्दोदेवतानि विनियोगार्थ-
मेव च । अविदित्वा प्रयुञ्जानो विनिपातः पदे पदे ।

¹ निरुक्त I. 20.

and, hence the name. The text of Chandogyaopaniṣad runs thus—The gods were afraid of death. They availed themselves of त्रयी and covered themselves with metres. छन्दः is meant for the purpose of securing the proper reading and recitation of the Vedic texts. प्रातिशाख्य deals with this at its closing section. There are seven principal candas in the Vedas, viz, गायत्री, उष्णिक्, अनुष्टुभ्, बृहती, पंक्ति, त्रिष्टुभ् and जगती. Besides these, there is a number of minor metres¹.

Gods—देवताs or gods are those to whom hymns are addressed. Generally one god is adored in a hymn, but sometimes two or more deities are invoked in one hymn.

Application—A hymn or a part of it or some additional verses inserted in a particular hymn is applied to a particular Vedic rite or rites. This is what goes by the name of विनियोग or application. It is said that one without the knowledge of ऋषि, छन्दः, देवता, विनियोग and अर्थ or meaning of the Vedic text, cannot reap the fruits of the rites he performs.

¹ These are 14 in number divided into two groups, each containaing seven metres. अतिजगती, शङ्करी अतिशङ्करी, अष्टि, अत्यष्टि, धृति and अतिधृति come under the first group, while कृति, विकृति, संकृति, अतिकृति and उत्कृति fall in the second.

Sūkta—Collections of a number of verses by some seer having a complete sense, which are dedicated to some deity or deities with a view to propitiate them are called *Sūktas*¹. The *sūktas* are of two kinds—**सुदसूक्त** and **महासूक्त**. The former is consisted of less than ten *ṛks*, while the latter comprises more than ten *ṛks*. Besides, there are **ऋषिसूक्त**, **देवतासूक्त** and **छन्दःसूक्त**. *Sūktas* compiled by a particular *ṛṣi* seriatim are known as **ऋषिसूक्त**. The *ṛks* in a *sūkta* addressed to two or more deities are called **देवतासूक्त**. *Sūktas* written in the same metre continuously are styled **छन्दःसूक्त**.

What is a
Sūkta ?—
Its kind

Samhitā—The hymns compiled in its present form are called *Samhitās* meaning compilations. There are two sorts of *Samhitā*—**निर्बहुजा** and **प्रातृणा**. The first is read in order, while the second has two kinds of *pāṭhas* called *Pada* and *Krama*. This is the **मन्त्र** portion of the *Veda* and is of two kinds—**रुद्रा** and **योगा**. The former means the inner significance of the verse, while the latter expresses what is understood from the words of the verse.

Samhitā or
mantra por-
tion of the
Veda.

The divisions of the *Rgveda* are of a two-fold nature in as much as they are

Division of
the Veda.

¹ सम्पूर्णं ऋषिवाक्यं तु सूक्तमित्यभिधीयते—बृहद्देवता

divided into *Aṣṭakas*, *Adhyāyas* and *Vargas* and into *Maṇḍalas*, *Sūktas* and *Anuvākas* as well.

Division
in Aṣṭakas
and its
nature.

Aṣṭakas—The whole Ṛgveda is divided into eight parts varying in length. Each of these parts is called an Aṣṭaka. The principle underlying the division in Aṣṭakas is that each of them contains eight chapters. Thus there are altogether sixty-four chapters in the Ṛgveda. This division is convenient for study. *Vargas* generally consist of five verses but they vary in their length also. There is 1 Varga with one verse, 2 Vargas with two verses, 97 Vargas with three verses, 174 Vargas with four verses, 1207 Vargas with five verses, 346 Vargas with six verses, 119 Vargas with seven verses, 59 Vargas with eight verses, and one Varga with nine verses. Thus the total number of Vargas is 2006 containing 10417 verses. But Śaunakācārya's Anukramaṇi says that there are 10580 verses and one pāda in the Ṛgveda. Besides it is stated that there are 21232 half verses and a pāda, 110,704 Carcāpadas¹ and 432,000 letters.

Number
of verses,
pādas and
letters in
the Veda.

¹ चर्चापदानि क्रमरूपेण अभ्यस्तानि पदानि ।

ऋचां दशसहस्राणि ऋचां पञ्चशतानि च ।

ऋचामश्रीतिः पादश्च पारणं संप्रकीर्तितम् ॥४३॥

Maṇḍala—One principle pervades the division of the R̥gveda in Maṇḍalas in as much as each Maṇḍala has been composed by a certain Ṛṣi or by his family excepting the 1st and the 10th. Another strange coincidence is that these two Maṇḍalas contain an exact number of hymns, the number being 191. The Maṇḍala system is now is eighty-five. The Maṇḍala system is now invariably followed by Vedic scholars while referring to or quoting from the R̥gveda.

Division in
Maṇḍala
and its
nature.

The first maṇḍala is called Satarcinah as it was seen by मधुच्छन्दा, दीर्वतमा, अङ्गिराः, कश्व and others who composed one hundred verses. The number of sūktas here is 191. The second maṇḍala containing 43 sūktas was seen by गृत्समद and his descendants. The third maṇḍala, with 62 sūktas was seen by विधामित्र and his sons and disciples. This maṇḍala contains the celebrated ṛk called गायत्री (62. 10.) The fourth maṇḍala consisting of 58 sūktas was seen by Vāmadeva and his family. The fifth maṇḍala comprising 87 sūktas was seen by Atri and his followers. The sixth

The Family
Books.

अर्धर्चाणां सहस्राणामेकविंशतिकं तथा ।
शतद्वयं तु द्वात्रिंशत् सपादं मुनिभिः पुरा ॥४२॥
शाकल्यदृष्टे पदलक्षमेकं सार्धं च वेदे त्रिसहस्रयुक्तं ।
शतानि चाष्टौ दशकद्वयं च पदानि षट् चेति हि चर्चितानि ॥४३॥

maṇḍala having 75 sūktas was seen by Bharadvāja and his disciples. The seventh maṇḍala, which has 104 sūktas, was seen by Vasiṣṭha and his family. The eighth maṇḍala having 114 sūktas (including the eleven Valakhilya sūktas) was seen by Kaṇva and his disciples. The ninth maṇḍala contains 114 sūktas. It is peculiar that all of them invoke *Soma*. The Sāma Veda having connection with Soma-sacrifice mainly draws its sūktas from this maṇḍala. It was seen by पावमान्य अङ्गिरा. The tenth maṇḍala was seen by seers known as जुदसूक्तीय (a sūkta having less than 10 ṛks) and महासूक्तीय (having more than 10 ṛks) ऋषि and like the first is consisted of 191 sūktas. The peculiarity of the maṇḍala is that the gods addressed here are said to be the seers of the hymns. There are scholars, both oriental and occidental, who suppose it to be of later origin.

Tenth
Mandala,
a later
addition.

The tenth Maṇḍala abounds in good many peculiar things, such as, incantations, spells and charms which are almost absent in other Maṇḍalas. In support of its being a later addition the following reasons amongst others may be adduced—

(i) Deities spoken of in the previous maṇḍalas hardly find any place in this Maṇḍala.

(ii) The deities called विश्वदेवा occupy a prominent position here.

(iii) Some of the prominent Gods disappeared but some of the minor Gods remained.

(iv) Goddess Dawn (उषा) omitted, Indra and Agni remained.

(v) Abstract ideas, such as, Faith (श्रद्धा), Wrath (मन्यु) &c., are introduced here for the first time.

(vi) Cosmogonical hymns, philosophical matters, incantations, spells &c., are the peculiar features of this Maṇḍala. The cosmogonical matters are found in the *Puruṣa* (X. 90) and *Nāsadīya* (the song of creation) (X. 129) sūktas and philosophical matters in the *Kaṇ* (X. 121) and *Vāgāṃvṛiṇī* or *Devi* (X. 125). sūktas

(vii) Some of the new subjects which are scarcely found in earlier parts, are mentioned here, such as, five funeral hymns (X. 14-18.), the incantations to preserve the life of one Subandhu lying dead by his brother (X. 58. ; 60. 7-12), the spell for averting the evil malady, Phthisis (यक्ष्मा) (X. 163), the spell to procure children (X. 183). etc.

(viii) The language and metre are similar to those of the classical (लौकिक) literature.

(ix) The Euphonic combination (सन्धि) is more frequent here than in the previous Maṇḍalas.

(x) The use of the letter 'l' supersedes that of the letter 'd' here.

(xi) The word 'सिम' found only once here.

(xii) Old words become scarce and new words, such as, the root लुड्, *time, fortune, kāma, lakshmī* etc., are introduced.

In order to guard the Saṃhitā form of the R̥gveda from any sort of change or interpolation several texts were prepared carefully. The number of these texts known as Pāṭhas is eleven. Of these the three are *Prakṛtipāṭhas* and eight *Vikṛtipāṭhas*. There are two sorts of Prakṛti, viz, *Yogā* and *Ruḍhā*. *Prakṛtipāṭhas* are the *Saṃhitā* (योग), the *Pada* and the *Krama* (रुद्धा), while the *Vikṛtipāṭhas* are the *Jatā*, *Mālā*, *Śikhā*, *Lekhā*, *Dhvaja*, *Daṇḍa*, *Ratha* and *Ghana*, each headed by *Krama*.¹ It is very difficult to ascertain what time intervenes between the *Saṃhitā* and these texts. Śākalya, the author of the *Pada-text*, has been quoted both by *Yāska*, the author of *Nirukta* and Śaunaka, the author of *R̥k-Prātiśākhya*. Besides, the mention of

Different
texts of the
Veda and
their
utilities.

१ "जटामालाशिखालेखा ध्वजोदण्डोरथोघनः ।

अष्टौ विकृतयः प्रोक्ताः द्रमपूत्र्याः मनीषिभिः ॥"

व्याकीर्तितं जटापटलम् ।

Pada-text is found in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. So this text is earlier than *Nirukta*, *Rkprā-tiśākhya* and *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. Of the *Vikṛtis* *Jatā* and *Daṇḍa* are most important, as *Śikhū* follows *Jatā* and *Mālā*, *Lekhā*, *Ratha* and *Dhvaja* follow the *Daṇḍa*. *Ghana* follows the both.

* Age of the Pada-text.

The Ṛgveda has three different varieties, the Veda proper, the *Vikṛti*'s and the *Śākhās* which will be described hereafter¹. The Veda proper is the *Prakṛtipāṭha*. The recensions of the sages *Śākala* and *Vāskala* ; the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇ* and *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* ; the *Śāṅkhayana* and *Māṇḍūkya Brāhmaṇ*s ; and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇ* and *Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka*, these are the eight divisions of the Ṛgveda, according to *Caranabyūha*².

The Ṛgveda should be read in four different ways, viz. क्रमपारः, क्रमपदः, क्रमजटः and क्रमदण्डः। "One, who would go to the end of the Veda in these four different ways" says *Caranabyūha*, "will be attended with progeny, cattle, fame and brāhmanical power. Besides, he would go to heaven and live here for full hundred years."

Vedic study
—its effect.

¹ वेदाविकृतिशाखाश्च भेदस्तु त्रिविधस्तथा ।

पृथङ् नानाविधानेन व्यासेन कथितं पुरा ॥

² तत्र ऋग्वेदस्याष्टौ स्थानानि भवन्ति—चरणव्यूह परिशिष्ट १८।

The [explanation of this is given thus—तत्र ऋग्वेदस्याष्ट-
भेदाभवन्ति—शाकलवास्कलौ, ऐतरेयब्राह्मणारण्यकौ, शाङ्खायनमाराङ्गकौ,
कौपीतकी-ब्राह्मणारण्यकौ ।

Various Texts of the Veda.

1. **The Samhitā-pāṭha**—It is just as we get in the mantra portion of the Veda. It runs thus—अग्निमीले पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् etc.

Illustration
of Pada-
pāṭha.

2. **The Pada-Pāṭha**—It gives the words of the ṛks in a separate and independent form and runs thus—अग्निम् । ईले । पुरोहितम् । यज्ञस्य । देवम् । ऋत्विजम् । If each of the words of the ṛk be represented by the letters a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h, etc, then this may be represented symbolically thus—a,b,c,d,e,f,g, etc. After duals the particle 'इति' is added to the *Pada-text* and then the word, if a compound, is repeated. Some words are often dropped, which are called *galitas*. The six ṛks Man. 7.59.12 ; Man 10.20.1 ; 121. 10 ; and 190.1-2-3 have not been analysed in the *Pada-text* of Śākalya, who might have doubted the authority of these six.

Illustration
of Kramā-
pāṭha.

Krama-pāṭha—This may literally be called "*Step-text*". It takes the words of the ṛks two at a time and runs thus—अग्निम् ईले । ईले पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य etc. It is represented by symbols thus —ab, bc, cd, de, etc.

4. **Jatā-pāṭha**—Or “*Woven-text*” repeats the combination of the *Krama-pāṭha* three times, the middle one being in the reverse order. It runs thus—अग्निमीदेईदेमि-
मग्निमीदे । ईदे पुरोहितं पुरोहितमीदे ईदे पुरोहितम्
etc. In symbols it would run thus—ab, ba,
ab ; bc, cb, bc ; etc.

Illustration
of
Jatā-pāṭha.

5. **Mālā-pāṭha**—or “*Garland-text*” repeats the combination of the *Krama-pāṭha* from the beginning of the hemistich till it reaches the end of it and its reverse from the end of the hemistich till it reaches the beginning. It runs thus—अग्निमीले, ऋत्विजं देवं ।
ईले पुरोहितं, देवं यज्ञस्य । पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य, यज्ञस्य पुरो-
हितम् । यज्ञस्य देवं पुरोहितमीले । देवमृत्विजम् ईलेमिम् ।
When put in symbols it would run in this
way—abfe ; bced ; cddc ; decb ; efba, etc.

Illustration
of Mālā-
pāṭha.

6. **Lekhā-pāṭha**—or “*Line-text*” repeats the combination of the *Krama-pāṭha* in reverse order taking the words of the *ṛk*s two, three, four and five at a time. It runs thus—अग्निमीले ; ईलेमिम् ; अग्निमीले । ईले-
पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य ; यज्ञस्य पुरोहितमीले ; ईलेपुरोहितं ; पुरोहितं
यज्ञस्य etc. It would run thus in symbols—
ab, ba, ab ; bcd, deb, bc, cd, etc.

Illustration
of Lekhā-
Pāṭha.

1 “मालामालेव पुष्पाणां पदानां ग्रन्थिनी हि सा ।
आवर्तन्ते त्रयस्तस्यां क्रम-व्युत्क्रम-संक्रमाः ॥”

2 “क्रमाद् द्वित्रिचतुः पञ्चपदक्रममुदाहरेत् ।
पृथक् पृथक् विपर्ययस्य लेखामाहुः पुनःक्रमात् ॥”

7. **Śikhā-pāṭha**—This has the combination of the *Jatā* with one word more in each. It runs thus—अग्निमीडे । ईडे अग्निम् । अग्निमीडे पुरोहितम् etc. In symbols it runs thus—ab, ba, abc; bc, cb, bcd etc.

8. **Dhvaja-pāṭha**—This has the entire combination of the *Krama-pāṭha* first and then the same in the reverse order. It runs thus—अग्निमीले । ईलेपुरोहितम् । पुरोहितम् यज्ञस्य.....पुरोहितम् यज्ञस्य । ईलेपुरोहितम् । अग्निम् ईले etc. When expressed in symbols it stands thus—ab, bc, cd.....cd, bc, ab etc.

9. **Daṇḍa-pāṭha**—This repeats the combination of the *Krama-pāṭha* three times, the second one being in reverse order. This runs thus—अग्निमीले । ईलेअग्निम् । अग्निमीले । ईडे पुरोहितम् । पुरोहितमीडेअग्निम् etc. In symbols it stands thus—ab, ba, ab; bc, cba etc.

10. **Ratha-pāṭha**—This has the combination of the *karma* and its reverse put together, like *Daṇḍa-pāṭha*, taken either in order of (a) *foot* or of (b) *hemistich*. It runs thus—(a) समिधाग्निं मग्निंसमिधा । धृतौ द्योवयत् द्योवयत् धृतैः समिधाग्निम् । In symbols it runs thus—abbc; cd dc ab etc. (b) अग्निमीडे यज्ञस्य देवम् । ईडेअग्निम् देवं यज्ञस्य । अग्निमीले ईले पुरोहितम् । यज्ञस्य देव द्योवयत् । पुरोहितमीडेअग्निम् द्योवयत् देवं यज्ञस्य etc. In symbols it is expressed thus—abab; bab'a'; abbc; a'b'b'c'; cba c'b'a' etc.

11. **Ghana-pāṭha**—It retains the first two combinations of the *Jatā-pāṭha*. Further it contains three combinations taking three words of the ṛk at a time, the middle one of this being in reverse order. It runs thus—अग्निमीले ईलेग्निम् अग्निमीले-पुरोहितम् पुरोहितमीलेग्निम् अग्निमीलेपुरोहितम् etc. When expressed in symbols it stands thus—ab, ba, abc, cba, abc ; bc, cb, bcd, dc, bcd etc.

Illustration of Ghana-Pāṭha.

For this very purpose, as stated above, the *Prātiśākhya*s and *Anukramaṇis* were also written.

The *Prātiśākhya* is a kind of Vedic grammar which treats of *Definition, Euphonic combination, Cases, Affixes*, etc. The Ṛk-*Prātiśākhya* which is ascribed to Śaunakācārya, is very old. Uvaṭa Bhaṭṭa, son of Vajrāta, and a resident of Ānandapur, wrote a commentary on this which is known as *Pārṣada*. He, as is supposed, was a contemporary of king Bhoja of Dhārā. Besides, we have *Prātiśākhya*s on the *Taittirīya* and *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitās*. The *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya* belongs to the *Taittirīya* and *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* or Black Yajurveda and *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya* to *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* or white Yajurveda. This treatise is ascribed to Kātyāyana who is supposed

*Prātiśākhya*s—their scope and commentaries.

Ṛk-*Prātiśākhya*—

Taittirīya and *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya*s.

to be the *Vārtikakāra* of the sage Pāṇini's grammatical aphorisms (a grammar chiefly intended for classical as well as Vedic Sanskrit). He had mentioned Śaunakācārya as one of his predecessors. The *Tribhāṣya ratna*, a comment on the *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya*, is now in vogue. It has also commentaries of the name of *Ātreya* and *Māheṣī* written by Vararuci, who is presumed to be the author of the *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*, a grammar on Prākṛta language. Uvaṭa, also, commented on the *Vājasaneyya-Prātiśākhya*. It has also a modern commentary named *Jyotsnā* written by Rāmcandra. There is, also a *Sāma-Prātiśākhya* of the Sāma-Veda. It is otherwise known as *Puṣpa Sūtra* of the sage Puṣpa. It has a commentary by Ajāta-śatru. There is again a work, treating with the manner of singing the sāmans at a sacrifice, which goes by the name of *Pañcavidha-sūtra*. Probably the work is of later origin. The Atharvaveda has the *Atharva-Prātiśākhya* which is assumed to be of the school of the Śaunakas.

Sāma-
Prāti-
śākhya.

Atharva
Prātiśākhya.

Anukrama
nis—their
subject
matter.

There is a class of works known as *Anukramaṇīs* or *Vedic Indices*. They sprang up during the sūtra period for the preservation of the Vedic texts proper from any loss or change. In it, the first words of each hymn, its composer, the deity, the

number of verses and the metres etc. are noted. *The Br̥haaddevatā, Ārṣānukramaṇī, Chandanukramaṇī, Devānukramaṇī, Anuvākānukramaṇī*, etc., are ascribed to Śaunakācārya. Kātyāyana wrote *Sarvānukramaṇī* of the Vedas. Besides, the *Anukramaṇīs* of the R̥g-veda, we hear also of the *Anukramaṇīs* of the Taittirīya and Vājasaneyi Samhitās. Sacrifices would not produce desired results if incantations are applied and recited wrongly with defective knowledge of accent, metre etc. of the hymns.¹

१ तथा वेदनविधिश्च स्मर्यते—
“स्वरौवर्णोऽन्तरं मात्रा विनियोगार्थ एव च ।
मन्त्रं जिज्ञासमानेन वेदितव्यं पदे पदे ॥
मन्त्रोहीनः स्वरतो वर्णा तो वा ।
मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ॥
स वाग्बज्रः यजमानं हिनस्ति ।
यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

True indeed, wrong application whatsoever, produces the contrary effect on the part of the यजमान himself. Mention should be made in this connection of the यज्ञ (sacrifice) of Vṛtrāsura's father in which he wished to kill Indra, the enemy of his son, but by way of wrong application (विनियोग) of accents (स्वर वा प्रस्वन) the result was just the opposite—(इन्द्रशत्रुर्वधस्व कृतेऽर्थे तत्पुरुषसमाप्ते “समासस्य” इति पाः ६।१।२२३ सूत्रेण तत्पुरुषत्वात् अन्तोदात्तेन भवितव्यम्; आद्युदात्तस्तु प्रयुक्तः । तथा सति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वेन बहुव्रीहित्वात् इन्द्रो दातको यस्य इत्यर्थः सम्पन्नः । तस्मात् स्वरवर्णाद्यपराधपरिहाराय शिक्षाग्रन्थोऽपेक्षितः”—Śāyana, “Introduction to the R̥gveda”.

Division
of the
Veda.

Tradition says that it was Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, who divided all the four Vedas. It is evidently a mistake, for we find mention of the divisions of the Vedas long before the time of this Vyāsa in the Vishṇu Purāṇa. We find that there were 27 Vyāsas before *Kṛiṣṇa Dvaipāyanā Vyāsa*, who divided and arranged the Vedas in different ages.¹ It is found also in the Vedas that the great sage Atharvā once divided the Veda.

- 1 त्रेतायां प्रथमे व्यस्ताः स्वयं वेदाः स्वयम्भूवा ।
द्वितीये द्वापरे चैव वेदव्यासः प्रजापतिः ॥
तृतीये चोदना व्यासश्चतुर्थे तु बृहस्पतिः ।
सविता पञ्चमे व्यासो मृत्युः षष्ठे स्मृतः प्रभुः ॥
सप्तमे च तथैवेन्द्रो वशिष्ठश्चाष्टमे स्मृतः ।
सारस्वतश्च नवमे त्रिवामा दशमे स्मृतः ॥
एकादशे तु त्रिवृषा भरद्वाज स्ततः परम् ।
त्रयोदशे चान्तरीक्षो ययी चापि चतुदशे ॥
अव्यारुणः पञ्चदशे षोडशे तु घनन्जयः ।
कृतन्जयः सप्तदशे ऋण्यष्टोदशे स्मृतः ॥
ततो व्यासो भरद्वाजो भरद्वाजात्तु गौतमः ।
गौतमादुत्तमो व्यासो 'हय्यात्मा' योभिधीयते ।
अथ हय्यात्मनो वेणुः स्मृतो राजप्रवान्वयः ।
सोम शुष्मायणस्तस्मात् तृणबिन्दुरिति स्मृतः ॥
अज्ञोभृद् भार्गवस्तस्मात् वाल्मीकियोऽभिधीयते ।
तस्मादस्मत् पिता शक्तिर्यासस्तस्मादहं मुने ॥
जातुकर्णोऽभवत् मत्तः कृष्णाद्वै पायानस्ततः ।
अष्टादशतिरित्येते वेदव्यासाः पुरातनाः ॥”

—विष्णुपुराणे ३।३।११-१६ ।

Therefore from the silver (ब्रह्मा) yuga, we get the division of the Vedas. In the Vishṇu, Vāyu and Bhāgavata purāṇas, we get slokas to the effect that at first the Veda was one undivided whole and then it was divided and arranged.¹

In *Sarāṇa-Pyūha* or exposition of the school of Śaunaka we find mention of five śākhās of the R̥gveda. These are the *Śākala*, *Vāskala*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Sāmkyāyana* and *Māṇḍuka*. The *R̥k-Prātiśākhya*, too, mentions these five śākhās only.² According to Dur-gācārya, commentator on the Nirukta, there were twenty-one śākhās of the R̥gveda. The Kurma Purāṇa also supports his view.³ But in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, we find that *Paṇḍita*, the disciple of Vyāsa, taught his own disciples *Indrapramiti* and *Vāskala* the R̥gveda which he had learnt from Vyāsa. They in their turn taught the Veda to their own disciples.

¹ “एक एव महावेदोऽस्त्येन पृथक् कृतः । ३।१।१५।
एक आसीत् यजुर्वेदस्तं चतुर्धाऽन्यकल्पयत् ॥” ३।१।११।

“एक एव पुरावेदः प्रणवः सर्ववाङ्मयः ।
एकः नारायणो देवः एकोऽग्निर्वर्णः एव च ॥” ६।१।१।४८।
—विष्णुपुराणे ।

² “ऋचां समूहः ऋग्वेदस्तमभ्यस्य प्रयत्नतः ।
पठितः शाकलेनादौ चतुर्भिस्तदनन्तरम् ॥
शांल्याश्चलायनौ चैव माण्डुको वात्सिलस्तथा ।
वह्म चो ऋषयः सर्वे पञ्चैते एकवेदिनः ॥”—शौनकीय प्रातिशाख्ये ।

³ एकविंशतिभेदेन ऋग्वेदं कृतवान् पुरा—कुर्म ६० अध्याय ।

Māṇḍukeya, the son and disciple of *Indrapramiti*, taught the Veda, he had learnt, to his disciple, *Vedamitra*. The five pupils of *Vedamitra* were *Mudgala*, *Gālava*, *Vātsya*, *Śāliya* and *Śīsira*. *Vāskala* took *Baudhya*, *Agnimāṭhara*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Parāśara*, *Gārgya*, *Kālāyaṇi* and *Kāṭhajava* as his pupils (vide *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, 3, 4). Thus, we see that according to *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* there were some 16 śākhās of the Ṛgveda. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* differs a little from the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* in this respect. Here we get *Agnimitra* instead of *Agnimāṭhara*. Besides, it mentions *Sauvari*, the disciple of *Māṇḍukeya* and *Śākalya*, his son, as the founder of the śākhās. *Śākalya*, a new name, has been inserted to the exclusion of *Vedamitra* in the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*. Again, we get *Gokhalya* in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* and *Gokula* in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* in lieu of *Gālava* of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.¹

According to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, *Jātukarna*, the disciple of *Śākalya*, had four pupils—*Valāka*, *Paila*, *Jājala* and *Virāja*.

“मुद्गलो गोकुलो वात्स्यः शैशिरः शिशिरस्तथा ।
पञ्च ते शाकलशिष्याः शाखाभेदप्रवर्त्तकाः ॥” वायुपुराण ।

The वज्रचासो edition has—

मुद्गलो गोकुलो वात्स्यः शैशिरः शिशिरस्तथा ।
पञ्च ते शाकलशिष्याः शाखाभेदप्रवर्त्तकाः ॥ ६०६४१

Vāskali, the son of Vāskala, collected *Vālakhilya hymns* (suppliments) mentioned in in the closing part of the 8th Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda and taught them to his pupils Vālayani, Bhajya and Kāsāra who were demons. These Vālakhilya sūktas (ie. sūktas 49-59 of the 8th Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda) were composed long after the division of the Vedas.

The Vedic gods are divided mainly into three classes—celestial, aerial and terrestrial. This is suggested by the following texts of the R̥g-veda also. सूर्यो नो दिवस्पातु चातोऽन्तरिक्षादग्निर्नः पार्थिवेभ्यः (X. 158. 1) ; तमू अकृन्वन् श्रेधाभुवेकम् (X. 88. 10) and एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः (I. 164. 46). According to the expounders of निरुक्त (७१२) there are only three gods, Agni on earth, Indra or Vāyu in the air and the sun in heaven. These three places of their abode are known as three व्याहृतिs by the name of भुः, भुवः and स्वर्. The celestial gods are Dyuh, Varuṇa, Mitra, Savitā, Pushā, Aświns, and the goddesses Ushā, and Rātri. The aerial gods are Indra, Rudra and Maruts, while the terrestrial gods are Agni, water, Pṛthivī and Soma. Father Manu acknowledges eleven manifestations of the unity of godhead, as suggested by Viśvāmitra also in accordance

Vedic gods—
their
divisions.

Nirukta
and the
number of
Vedic gods.

Celestial
Aerial and
terrestrial
gods.

Manu on
the point.

with the diverging capacities of knowledge of the worshippers. These eleven according to their three-fold abodes grew to be thirty-three. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ (4. 5. 72) also mentions the same number. There are passages in the R̥gveda which mention more than 33 gods. R̥gveda (III. 9. 9 and X. 52. 6) speaks of 3339 gods. This number in Paurāṇic age increased to 33 crores. In reality, there is but one God, who according to his functions of protecting, showering, burning, purifying etc., is termed multifarious according as the case may be. The Vedic texts “नामानि ते शतक्रतो-विश्वाभिर्गीभिरीमहे” (R.V. III. 37. 3) ; इन्द्रो-मायाभिः पुरुरूपमीयते” (R.V. VI. 47. 18), “नहिन ते महिमानः समन्व” (R.V. VI. 27. 3), ‘न ते महित्वमन्यश्नुवन्ति’ (R. V. VII. 99 1), भुवनस्य पितरं गीर्भिराभिः (R.V. VI. 49. 10), आस्य जानन्तोनाम चिद्विवक्तन (R.V. I. 106. 3), यस्येमे हिमवन्तो महित्वा (R.V. X. 121. 4), सहस्राणि सहस्रशो ये रुद्रा अधि-भूम्याम् (Vāj. Samh. XVI. 53. 54) etc, are nothing but penegyrics on the desired deity for showing his omnipotence. Aitareya Āraṇyaka (III. ii. 4. 1) clearly states this unity in the expression “आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्रआसीत्।” This Soul, as conceived by Vedic sages, is the presiding deity of the solar disc. This is corroborated by later Upaniṣads and Purāṇas also. Therefore

Śatapatha
Brāhmaṇ.

R̥gveda.

Purāṇas.

Unity of
godhead as
found in
the R̥gveda.

Upaniṣads
and Āraṇy-
akas and
Purāṇas.
on the
matter.

all other gods, as enumerated in the देवताकाण्ड of निरुक्त or बृहदेवता, are but सूर्य and his reflections.

From the above description of gods some scholars have jumped to the conclusion that Vedic Aryans were worshippers of nature personified. But little value can be attached to this conclusion. It is known to the readers of Vedic literature and classical literature as well that the Aryans acknowledged a presiding deity of everything, animate or inanimate. The address "आपः एनं ह्रियन्तु", "स्वचितिः एनं त्रायस्व" etc., is not to insentient water or razor but to their presiding deities.

Were Vedic Aryans worshippers of nature?

The line "महत् देवानाम् अद्यत्वेकम्" repeated at the end of every verse of the hymn III. 55. of the Rgveda and the line "सूर्य आत्मा जगत्स्तस्थुषश्च" (R. V. I. 115. 1) are sufficient proofs to show that the Indo-Aryans were not worshippers of nature, as it is but they worshipped the spirit in it. The expression "तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि चेदं यदिदमुपासते" repeated at the end of every verse of the Kena Upaniṣad I. 4-8. is a convincing explanation of what has been said before and indicates the nature and form of worship they were accustomed to. This finally developed into मधुविद्या, a source of immortality which a man aspires after.

The Vedas and Upaniṣads.

Nature of worship.

Nature of
Vedic gods.

The Vedic gods are sometimes spoken of as immortal and sometimes as beings born. Thus we find in the Vedas that the gods are born of *द्यावापृथिवी* ; *ऊषा* is the mother of the gods and *ब्रह्मणस्पति* their father and so on. Vedic gods are sometimes described as fighting with one another and are represented to be too powerful for mortals. Man dares not disregard their mandates. They control all creatures and it is they alone who can live in the region where *Viṣṇu* took his three strides. They attained immortality by drinking the soma-juice. They reward the good and punish the wicked. They never forgive those who neglect sacred rites. They being omniscient can read the minds of man and come to take part even in sacrifice contemplated but not yet offered.

Vedic
religion.

However dim the picture may be it is plain that the religion of the Vedic Aryans differed in many respects from that of modern Hindus. At the same time it is undeniable that the germ of modern Hinduism is to be found in the Vedas. Even, hatred for cow-slaughter and abhorrence for beef, which are now so prominent marks of Hindu orthodoxy, were equally so in Vedic times. Some scholars are inclined to believe that the Indo-Aryans

sacrificed cows freely and ate both beef and horse-flesh on ceremonial occasions. But there is no direct proof, as has been proved by late Umeśa Candra Vatavyāla in his "Veda Prokāśikā" (pp. 112-139), in the text of the Veda to corroborate the statement. There are, no doubt, stray references to the slaughter of cows and horses, which are given by way of illustration, but they do not bear testimony to the direct usage of the time. In the age of the Sūtras and classical literature these were twisted and fabricated to prove the use of beef in food etc., but such attempts have proved absolutely abortive.

Slaughter of cow and horse and use of beef etc.

It is very difficult to ascertain if the religion of the Rgveda is monotheistic, or polytheistic *i. e.*, whether the Veda admits the worship of one god or of many gods. At first sight the religion of the Veda seems to be of a polytheistic nature, for in it *Indra*, *Vāyu*, *Varuṇa*, *Agni* and many other gods are invoked. But in some passages we see that all the different gods, such as, *Agni*, *Yama*, *Mālarīśvā* &c. are said to be the various manifestations of one and the same god.¹ But such Polytheism.

Nature of Vedic religion.

¹ Cf. I, 146, 46 and 10. 114. 5 &c. of the Rgveda.

passages being only a few in number, polytheism may reasonably be accepted as the nature of the Vedic religion. Polytheism in the general sense of the term means an organised system of gods subordinate to one god, but in the Vedas each god is supreme in himself and not subordinate to any one. But here it may be pointed out that Prof. MaxMüller, in order to solve this difficulty, has proposed two names Kathenetheism and Henotheism for the religion of the Veda. The former means the worship of one god after another and the latter the worship of a single god.

Katheno-
theism and
Henotheism

Vedic Pan-
theon etc.

The term Vedic Pantheon, as suggested by some scholars, though not appropriately suitable to Vedic religion, still contains the germs of later religious developments. Modern scholars shrink from giving the name Fetichism, Polytheism, Monotheism, Pantheism, or Henotheism to the religion of the Veda. With a view to solve the difficulty, an Indian scholar has suggested the name विश्वदेववाद (Vide वेदप्रकाशिका by Umeś Candra Vatavyāla, p. 215) for the Vedic religion. He comes to this conclusion from a hymn of the R̥gveda (III 55) revealed to famous Visvāmitra wherein the unity of Godhead

Visvadeva-
vāda—co-
roborated
by the
Veda and
Upaniṣads.

is acknowledged inspite of apparent multiplicity. This idea of unity developed into ब्रह्म in the Upaniṣad. The following text of the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण echoes the sense of this in the following manner : अग्नि is the last of all gods and विष्णु is the first of them all. All other gods lie between them. Agni is all gods, Viṣṇu is all gods. विश्वदेव निविद् is fraught with this idea.

Vedic Gods.

1. *Dyāvā-Prthivī*—They are described as the most ancient and the parents of all the gods or supreme parents. Prayers are offered to them for various blessings. Six hymns are dedicated to *Dyāvā-Prthivī*. It is very curious to note that heaven and earth are paradoxically described as created by the mighty god, *Indra*, *Dhātā* and *Viśvakarmā* as well.

It would not be out of place to mention here that the gods are described in one passage (10. 63. 2) as having three-fold origin—*Aditi*, the waters and the earth.

2. *Aditi*—No separate hymn has been dedicated in praise of this goddess but she is often prayed for protection, welfare, safety and forgiveness of sin.

She is the mighty mother of the gods and the head of the females and household gods. She is the mother of the devout and the presiding deity of all ceremonials. The protecting and the guiding deities *Mitra*, *Varuṇa* and *Aryamā* have sprung from her. She is the mother of the *Rudras*, the daughter of *Vasus*, and the sister of the *Ādityas*. She has sons and brothers. The passages of the *Ṛgveda* give her a very gloomy and inexplicable character. She came of उत्तानपद and from her came the regions. She is the mother and daughter of *Dakṣa* by reciprocal generation. But this *Dakṣa* in paurāṇic age became one of the mind-begotten sons of ब्रह्मा, and अदिति one of the numerous daughters of दक्षः. She with her eleven sisters was given in marriage to *Kāśyapa*. The western scholars give a philosophical meaning to this name. They identify *Aditi* with eternity and say that she is imperishable.

3. *The Ādityas*—They are sons of अदिति. The passages of the *Ṛgveda* vary as to their number. In one place (II.27) *Mitra*, *Aryamā*, *Bhaga*, *Varuṇa*, *Dakṣa* and *Aṃśa* are said to be *Ādityas*; in another place they are said to be seven in number (IX. 114). Again we find that *Aditi* has eight sons (X. 72). *Sūrya* is taken to be one of them. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇ* they are said to be eight in number—(1) मित्र (2) वरुण (3) धातृ (4) अर्यमन् (5) अंश (6) भग (7) इन्द्र (8) and विवस्वत्. In the *Atharva Veda* the number has reached nine. According to the *Śatpatha Brāhmaṇ* there are twelve *Ādityas* in twelve months. There is a very interesting

legend in connection with the birth of the Ādityas. A cake ब्रह्मौजा by name being cooked was given to अदिति who eating a part of it conceived and gave birth to धाता and अयमा and then taking another part she produced मित्र and वरुण. This process was repeated twice again and अश and भग and इन्द्र and विवस्वत् came in turn. In the paurāṇic age the number of आदित्य reached twelve.

4. *Mitra*—He represents the beneficent side of the Sun's power and is worshipped constantly with Varuṇa. According to the Atharva Veda he is the presiding deity of sun-rise. Only one separate hymn has been singly addressed to him. He is generally invoked in conjunction with Varuṇa. These two deities are respectively the presiding gods of the day and night. He rules over the sky and upholds it. He placed the sun in the heavens and protects the world. He promotes the religious rites and looks upon men below and their actions.

5. *Varuṇa*—He is an important deity of the sky. Though invoked in a small number of hymns (12), he is one of the greatest Vedic gods. He upholds the moral and physical order and at his bidding the sun, the moon, the stars and the air move in their respective path. He is the god of rain who makes the rivers flow into the sea. He is omniscient and everything true and false in humanity comes to his cognisance. There are many passages in the Rgveda which speak of Varuṇa's spies. He cannot brook any

infringement of law and order and he saves people from their own sins as well as sins of heredity. He has created the sun. Vāyu is his breath. He, at his sweet will, can change the span of human life (I. 244. 11 ; vii. 88, 4). In brief, devotees derive all kinds of worldly good from him. The name Varuṇa is derived from the root वृञ् (to cover) and thus he is the god that envelops the wicked in his snare and rules over the righteous. According to Sāyaṇa he is nothing but the setting sun. He seems to resemble Uranos of the Greek mythology.

6. *Dhātā*—In the Vedic literature the conception of the creator or Prajāpati has been made in two different ways. In one place he has taken the position of God the creator, and in another he is supposed to be one of the 33 gods. He is the sole agent of the universe which lies wholly immersed in him. In the R̥gveda *Dhātā* has been used as an epithet for सवितृ, सोम and हिरण्यगर्भे. In the Atharva Veda he is said to be born of either *time, life* or *sacrificial viands*. There are some passages in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ* in his praise.

7. *Aryamā*—He is also a deity of the sky and is the head of the *Pitrs* or *Manes*.

8. *Aṃśa* and *Bhaga*—They are, each, a form of the sun or *Āditya*.

9. *Vivasvān*—He is the most concrete diety of the sky. He is all-seer and beholds the good and bad actions of the mortals. All that are animate

and inanimate do their respective works, being guided by him. His chariot is drawn by seven steeds. He rolls up the darkness and the stars vanish at his presence. He is described as the husband of *Dawn*. Disease and evil dreams fly away before him.

10. *Savitā*—Eleven whole hymns have been addressed to this solar deity. He quickens the activity of the sun. He is a golden deity and rides a golden car. He drives away demons and evil dreams. He conducts the departed souls to the place where the good dwell. All the gods follow his lead. The most important verse of the *Rg-veda*, the *Gāyatrī*, is addressed to him.

11. *Pūṣā*—He seems to be the beneficent power of the sun. He is a pastoral deity and his car is drawn by goats. He carries a goad in his hand and leads the dead to the region of *Fathers*. He is a guardian deity of the roads. He is celebrated in eight hymns.

12. *Viṣṇu*—He is one of the important solar deities though invoked less frequently than the other solar gods. Though not so prominent as Indra, Agni and others in the Vedic age, yet he came to occupy an important position in the paurāṇic age and has survived as one of the three gods of the Hindu Trinity. He traverses the region of the sky through the three divisions of the universe and this perhaps has created the tale of the three steps of Vishṇu in his Vāmana incarnation. *Viṣṇu* as a Vedic name is a compound

form of the two words *Vi*=through and *ṣṇu* (or. *Sānu*)=back.¹ Hence *Viṣṇu* originally meant "through the back". This explains his taking three strides, occasional reference to which can be found in the *R̥gveda*.

N. B. The gods *Ādityas*, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Dhātā*, *Aryamā*, *Amsā*, *Bhaga*, *Vivasvān*, *Savitā*, *Pūṣā* and *Viṣṇu*, are but the different manifestations of the *Sūrya*. According to *Sāyaṇa* the form of the sun before sun-rise is *Savitā* and the form from sun-rise to sun-set, is the sun. *Aryamā* divides the day and night. He occupies the intermediate position between *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*. The morning follows the dawn and then is the time for the rising of *Bhaga*. The sun with mild ray is called *Pūṣā*. *Pūṣā* is followed by *Arka* or *Aryamā*. The time called पूर्वाह्न closes with *Aryama*. The mid-day sun is termed *Viṣṇu*. According to *Nirukta*, *Pūṣā* is the guardian deity of all beings.

13. *Indra*—He is the greatest and mightiest of the Vedic gods. His father and mother also are described as a great hero and heroine in some passages of the *R̥gveda* and even just after his birth he excelled them both in prowess. He is called the son of *Niṣṭigri* meaning one who subdues her rival and hence she is अदिति.² In the अथर्ववेद we get that *Ekāṣṭakā*³ bore him and with his help

¹ *R̥gveda*—1. 155. 3, 5.

² 10, 102. 12—*R̥gveda*.

³ 3, 10, 12 *Atharva Veda*.

the gods defeated their enemies, and this slayer of the enemy became the lord of Śacī. The purāṇas call him the son of कश्यप and अदिति. The R̥gveda says that the gods made him kill the demons and again in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* he is described as having sprung from the mouth of विराट्. Again we find that Soma procreated him. Both in the R̥gveda and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ* we find that *Indrāṇī*, the wife of Indra, is very fortunate among goddesses and that her head-dress is of various forms. Indra is strong both mentally and physically. He is ever young, martial, immortal, bright and all-conquering.

He possessses unbounded wisdom and irresistible prowess, and is the wielder of the thunderbolt (Vajra). His physical features have been very often described. He can assume any shape at will. He placed the sun in the sky and all gods yielded to his valour and strength. He is the ruler of the sky, the earth, the waters and the mountains. In brief, his sway extends over the whole external world. He is known as the friend of his worshippers and is very often invoked by warriors. He is borne on bright golden car drawn by swift steeds. He appears on the sacrificial grounds of the worshippers to grant them their wishes. His thunderbolt seems to be made by Tvaṣṭrā. Kāvya Uśanāh is said to have given him this weapon. Again we find that the gods provided him with thunderbolt after the first day's sacrificial ceremony. This Vajra is sometimes described as made of gold

and sometimes of *ayas* or iron, having thousand points. Indra is also described as furnished with arrows and a goad. According to Atharva Veda he has a net in his hand to entrap his foes. He killed *Vṛtra*, the obstructor of rain. In his warfare with *Vṛtra* he was greatly helped by his friends, the *Maruts* (the storm gods) and *Viṣṇu*. Heaven and earth quaked in fear at the crash of the thunder of Indra. He killed *Vṛtra* and caused the waters which were held back to flow in torrents. Some occasional sinful traits also appear in his character. He slew his father and destroyed the car of the Dawn. He was addicted to the drink of the soma juice. In the Avesta he is described as a demon and not as a god. Though uncertain in character, it appears that there was a deity in the Indo-Iranian period akin to the Vedic form of Indra.

14. *Agni*—This god has a three-fold origin. He is born on earth, in air and in heaven. He is the most important terrestrial deity. He is invoked in some 200 hymns and his place is next to Indra's. Because of the oblation of ghee cast in the fire he is styled butter-backed, butter-faced and butter-haired. He is also termed flame-haired and has a tawny beard. He has sharp and shining teeth with which he eats the forest. His swift motion is often compared to swift-winged arrow or the flight of a bird. His flames resemble the roaring waves of the sea. He is carried on a bright car drawn by two or three steeds. He is called *śmaś*

He is often described as being produced from friction of two fire-sticks (araṇi). He is called the son of Strength and the grandson of Water. He is both the youngest and the oldest of all gods. He is a prototype of the later R̥gvedic triad,—Sun, Wind and Fire as well as of the triad,—Sun, Indra and Fire and is probably the progenitor of the paurāṇic trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The terrestrial fires being many in number, Agni is said to have many births. He is a priest, *i.e.*, conductor of oblations to the gods. He with his thousand eyes keeps watch over his worshippers. He showers rain from heaven and is like a spring in the desert. He drives away goblins with his light.

15. *Dyauh*—He seems to resemble the Greek god Zeus and is the oldest among the gods of heaven. Dyauh is often invoked in conjunction with Pṛthivī. He is compared with a bull or a black steed. He wields a bolt in his hand. Whenever he is personified as a celestial deity he generally appears in the dual form of Dyāvāpṛthivī.

16. *Uṣā*—There are some 20 fine hymns addressed to this goddess. Songs sung in her praise are the finest religious lyrics in the literature of the world. She is the daughter of Dyauh and is born in the sky. Night is often spoken of as the dark sister of this bright deity. She is the wife of Sūrya, who follows her track, as a youth does a maiden's. Her well-adorned massive car is drawn by ruddy

steeds or kine. She appears in the east with her charms unveiled. This young deity of matchless beauty throws wide the gates of heaven and darkness flies hurriedly before her. She enlivens everything and is the soul and beauty of sweet sounds. She appears everyday on the horizon at the appointed hour and never violates the laws of God.

17. *Rudra*—There are only three entire hymns in the *Rgveda* addressed to this deity. He carries a bow and arrows and also a thunderbolt in his hands. He is of a fierce and destructive nature. The name *Śiva*, assigned to him in the later Vedas, find prominent mention in the post-Vedic literature. In spite of his malevolent nature, he bestows blessings upon men and beasts. There are occasional references to his healing power, which perhaps are responsible to make him the master of medicine in the *Tāntrika* age.

18. *Maruts*.—They are sons of Rudra and *Prisṇī*. They are further said to have been born of *Varuṇa* in the womb of Heaven. Sometimes they are called self-born. Of the group-gods *Maruts* occupy a high position in the *Rgveda*. They are invoked in 33 entire hymns. As to their number the *R. V.* 52. 17 has 'सप्तमे सप्त शक्तिः'. The scholiast has taken this to mean 49 on the authority of the *purāṇas*. But the *ṛk. Viii* 28. 2 speaks clearly of seven *Maruts* (this also may refer to their seven groups, each containing seven). In *ṛk. Viii.* 96. 8. their number is

found to be sixty-three. According to Prof. Macdonell "Their number is thrice seven or thrice sixty". They are often said to be brilliant, golden, ruddy, and self-luminous. They are youthful warriors and wield spears of lightning and battle axes. They are armed also with bows and arrows. They are borne on a golden car drawn by spotted horses. They make great havoc on forests and shed rain below. They are friend of Indra and help him in his contest with the demons. The goddess Rodasī is often mentioned in connection with them. They wear golden helmets. Thunder and roaring of the winds are said to be their noise. They make mountains and earthquake. They are singers of heaven. As it appears from the R̥gveda they are "storm-gods".

19. *Vāyu*—He is invoked in three hymns. His movement is very fast. He rides on a shining car drawn by two ruddy steeds. He is a constant companion of Indra. It is he who makes all creatures live.

20. *Yama*—He is the god of the next world. He carries the dead to their appointed abodes. Two fierce dogs guard his region.

21. *Waters*—They are invoked as goddesses in four hymns of the R̥gveda. They are described as mothers and young wives who bestow blessings on the worshippers.

22. *Soma*—He is the chief god of the Soma sacrifices. The entire ninth Maṇḍala is devoted to his praise. Besides, there are some scattered hymns

addressed to this deity. He occupies the third place among the Vedic gods. In the Śoma sacrifice the soma-creeper is pounded and twisted by ten maidens. Then this juice is filtered by a sieve of sheep's wool and used in the sacrifice. The priest after the completion of the ceremony takes a drink of the remaining juice along with the *yajamāna*. It was believed that it imparts everlasting life. This plant grows on mountains. The first home of soma-creeper was in heaven and it was brought therefrom to mountains by eagles. In some places it is identified with the moon. Yajurveda speaks of the lunar mansions as his wives. In post-vedic literature it is a common name of the moon.

23. *Puruṣa*.—He is praised in the celebrated hymn of the Rgveda known as *Puruṣa Sūkta* (X.90). It is one of the cosmogonic hymns as therein is found the description of creation of everything—the Vedas, the castes, the birds, the beasts, the trees and so on. The act of creation is treated of as a sacrifice, the embodiment of *Puruṣa*. Judging from its language, the modern scholars think this to be a hymn of very late origin. But language alone is never sufficient for such a conclusion. This *Puruṣa* is no other than ब्रह्म of the Upaniṣads.

24. *Viśvedevas*.—They are a group of gods invoked in more than sixty hymns of the Rgveda where they occupy a very important position. विष्णु of the Gita has certainly originated from them.

of this group of gods meaning 'all gods.' The idea of the unity of Godhead has also sprung from this.

25. *Viśvakarmā*—His name is first heard in the tenth Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda. He is identified with the Sun and Indra. He is the regulator of all universal laws. In fact the creative power of the great God is described in the guise of this allegorical name. So he is called धाता and प्रजापति. He is possessed of innumerable eyes, mouths, hands and feet. He is the father of all and beyond conception of mortals. He is munificent and wholesome. In the paūrāṇic age he became the architect of gods.

26. *R̥bhu*.—Angirāḥ had a son Sūdhānvā who was the father of R̥bhu, Vibhu and Vāja. They attained to the state of divinity by their own actions. They dwell in the solar region. According to Sāyaṇa they are nothing but sun-beams. They have been invoked in 11 hymns. They are once said to be the sons of Indra. Their car is drawn by strong steeds. They are artisans of gods and created the horse of Indra through mental power. Their skill in action has been stated in many passages of the R̥gveda.¹ वृत्र्युः, carpenters by profession, entered into the rank of priests by virtue of their merits. They had no definite gods for their worship. In course of time they became worshippers of R̥bhus. According to Sāyaṇa they are disciples of त्वष्टा. They are otherwise known as ऋभुजातः. Maxmüller takes them

¹ R.V. IV. 347; 33; I. 161; 20. 3; 4, 6; 110. 8 etc.

to occupy the same position with the Greek Orpheus. Besides, he traces the origin of the tale of Pururavaḥ and Urvaṣī to them.

27. *Āśvins*.—They have been adored in more than 50 hymns. This pair occupies a very high position in the R̥gveda like Agni, Varuṇa and Indra. They are the gods of the firmament. They are sons of त्रिवस्वान् and सरायु. They are further described as sons of रुद्र and सिन्धु (R.V. 5 75. 3 & I. 46 2). They are both old and new. They are immortal and wear lotus garlands and ride on a car of hundred wheels. Their car is also said to be borne by asses and buffaloes. They have a ship also furnished with a hundred oars. They are conversant with the science known as मधुविद्या or secret of immortality. They are very fond of soma-drink and they cure diseases. They are divine physicians. They too, like R̥bhus, were at first men and then raised to the status of god. There are many legends in connection with them.¹ Yāska in the Nirukta speaks of his different identifications according to different scholars.² Some take them to be the morning and the evening stars. Greek mythology has the tale of the twin sons of Zeus. This has led Mr. Macdonell to think that they were the gods of old Indo-European Aryans.

¹ R.V. I. 116; I. 117. 7, 8, 20, 24 etc.

² “तत्क्रौं अश्विनौ ! द्यावापृथिव्यौ इत्येके, अहोरात्रौ इत्यन्ये ; सूर्याचन्द्रनसौ इत्येके ; राजानौ पुराग्रहताविति ऐतिहासिकाः ।”

28. *Parjanya*.—He is an unimportant deity and has been invoked only in three hymns. He is the god of shower. He makes the herbs and the earth strong. He rears cattle. He is the father of the universe. He is the son of heaven. He has close connection with Indra, Maruts and Fire.

29. *Brahmanaspati*.—Both Brahmanaspati and Brhaspati have been derived from the root बृह meaning most voluminous. Brahmanaspati, according to some scholars, is a reciter of mantras, who attained divinity. He is rich in wealth and cures diseases. He sees all and showers rain. He dispels darkness, He befriends them who adore him and kills them who speaks ill of him.

30. *Brhaspati*.—He has been adored in 11 hymns. He sprung first in the highest heaven. He is possessed of seven mouths and seven rays. He is honey-tongued and black-backed. He is destroyer of demons, renderer of clouds and giver of the fruits of sacrifice. He leads one to heaven. He is the son of चानावृथिवी. He dwells like Agni in all the three regions. He is the guardian of horses and protector of *mantras*. He is a priest. In paurāṇic age he became solely the priest of gods as शुक्र became of the demons.

31. *Sarasvatī*.—The word literary means a lustrous one. She is otherwise known as वाग्देवी or presiding deity of the Vedas. The word indicates a river of the name as well. Sāyaṇa takes the word

in these two senses. At last she has been reduced to our modern Sarasvatī personified.

32. *Pitrloka*.—The manes like gods live in heaven and come to the sacrifice with them. The region they live in is also called *पितृलोक* situated in the middle of the sky. They associate with Yama and pass their time merrily with him. If they are pleased, a man thrives in every way. If they who bedeck the sky with the garland of stars and keep up darkness at night and brightness at day. They make the Dawn appear and spread over the heaven and earth in conjunction with Soma.

N B. Besides these there are numerous minor gods, such as, Night, River, Forests, Guardian deities of houses and fields, Cow, Ghee, Horses, Vulture, Frog, Dadhikrā, Pitu, Herbs, Tārksya bird, Māyā, Mānya, Śraddhā, King, Dice, Mind, Preta, Yama, Lakṣmī, Alakṣmī, etc. There is a hymn to ब्रह्मज्ञान also. Besides we get a number of hymns towards the close of the R̥gveda for warding off evils in the shape of destroying co-wives and rendering evil dreams ineffective and so on.

Abstract deities.—Prof. Macdonell says "One result of the advances of thought during the period of the R̥gveda from the concrete towards the abstract was the rise of abstract deities....There are a few other abstract deities whose names were originally epithets of older gods, but now became epithet of the supreme god who was being

end of the Ṛgvedic period....The second and smaller class of abstract deities comprises personifications of abstract nouns. These are *Manu*, *Śradhā*, *Sinibālī*, *Anumatī*, etc'. Most of these abstract deities, however, in our opinion, are not independent deities but they represent worshipper's bent of mind indulging in such personifications.

Goddess.—'Goddesses play an insignificant part in the Ṛgveda.' The only one important deity is Uṣā. Next to her are the Sarasvatī and Vāk. Prithivī, Ratri and Aranyānī also are worshipped.

Dual Deities.—Gods are sometimes invoked in pairs. Of such pairs the names of मित्रावरुणौ, इन्द्राग्नी, सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ, अग्नीषोमौ and द्यावापृथिवी are important.

Groups of Deities.—There are a few deities who are worshipped in groups. These are the Maruts, the Viśvedevas, the Ādityas, the Vasus and the Rudras.

Lesser divinities.—Besides the higher gods, a number of lesser gods also is invoked in the Ṛgveda. The most important of them are the Ṛbhus, the Apsarās, the Gandharvas, Vāstospati and others.

Besides these there, is a number of hymns which is not addressed to any deity but is entirely confined to magical charms.

Secular hymns.—There are about a score of hymns dealing with secular matters. These hymns throw some light on the

These hymns point to many old rites and customs.

earliest thought and civilisation of India. From the wedding hymn (X, 85) and the funeral hymns (X. 14-8) we can gather many social and religious rites and customs of the period.

Samvāda hymns or Mythological dialogues.—There are some seven mythological dialogues in the Ṛgveda. In some of them (IV. 62 ; X. 51. 86. etc.) the speakers are divine beings, while in others they are human. In 10. 95 Pururava, a mortal, converses with *Ūrrašī*, a celestial nymph. This story after a long lapse of time, was taken by Kālidasa as the central plot of his drama *Vikramorvaśyam*. The conversation between Yama and Yamī. (X. 10), the twin parents of human race, has also a special literary interest as precursors of dramatic works of later age. These are specimens of Vedic ballads. "The *Surja-sūkta* (X. 85) may also be included in the Ṛgvedic ballad poetry".

Mythology
still in the
making.

Source of
drama and
ballad
poetry.

Didactic hymns.—The hymn X. 34. is a striking piece, in which a gambler is rueful on account of his bringing ruin and misery over his family owing to his addiction to the dice. The hymn IX. 112 describes various ways of gain. In X. 71 there is praise of wise speech, while X. 117 speaks of the merit of good deeds.

These are
fraught
with moral
instructions.

Riddles.—The hymns viii. 29 and I. 146 contain riddles. In the former various gods are invoked without their names and in the latter the sun is invoked in mystical and symbolic language. Meanings are obscure.

Vedic Philosophy.—Philosophical ideas and the germs of the doctrines of the Upaniṣads are found in the hymns of the Rgveda. Close study of the Veda reveals how the philosophical ideas developed in the mind of the Vedic Aryans. The apparent worship of Nature and natural phenomena as manifestations of God, by the ancient sages, gradually led them to the idea of one God.¹ It is found in the tenth Maṇḍala that people after their death live in the region of Yama. The spirits pass through the road Piṭṛyāna and revel with Yama and feast with the gods. They partake of the offerings by their sons on the stalks of the *kuśa-grass* and bless them in return. People live a plesurable life in the realm of Yama. The Atharvaveda speaks of a place of punishment as well. The Nāsadiya Sūkta of the tenth Maṇḍala (X. 129) expresses vividly for the first time the primitive forms of Indian thought. Philosophy of the Veda and its later development. Idea of death and next world. Idea of hell.

¹ R.V. I. 164. 20, 21, 29, 33, 46.

Germ of
Vedantic
philosophy.

Herein we find the fundamental doctrines of the Upanishads, *i. e.*, the emanation of the world and *jīva* out of one reality, the self. This self creates all things through the agency of *māyā* or unreality. All other things except self is *असत्* or unreal ; it only is *सत्* or real. These philosophical ideas were first developed in the Upanishads, the later Indian philosophical works.

Vedic Cosmogony.

Many theories have been advanced by eminent scholars in different countries about creation according to their mode of culture and education. Some hold that the universe is the result of a self-evolved process without any external agency. Creation by external agency is the opinion of others. There is besides a theory of self-existence. This, we think, is an existence independent of any agency and hence without a beginning. As one scholar puts it, "The hypothesis of self-creation, which practically amounts to what is called pantheism, is incapable of being represented in the..."

Theory of
creation—
oriental and
occidental.

There are references to certain phenomena, such as, the precepitation of invisible vapour into cloud, that forms a symbolic conception of a self evolved universe. It is, according to Spencer, the "Atheistic theory" (नास्तिक्यवाद). The theory of self-creation corresponds to the *Āstikyaavāda* in Sanskrit.

Theory of creation according to Vedic Aryans.

The theory of creation engaged the serious attention of the Vedic Aryans also. They were struck with wonder to see this wondrous world about them and their mind was naturally convulsed with the discussion of its creator. "We do not know" they said "the exact nature of the primordial Cause of this creation". The hymn X. 70. says how in the *Yuga* preceding that of the gods the manifested world came out of the unmanifested one. This was the idea in the beginning of the so called *Devajuga* also. Then came the sky, the trees, the earth and the directions. Adity generated Dakṣa and Dakṣa generated Adity. "This Adity, O, Dakṣa, who is your daughter, generated the gods who are auspicious and friendly to men". So sings the 72nd Sūkta of the 10th Maṇḍala. The 29th hymn of the 10th Maṇḍala which is popularly known as नासदीय सूक्त (as it begins with नासदासीत् etc.) thus speaks of the cosmic condition. "There was none

Nāsadiya sūkta—the process of creation.

that covered. There was neither the sky nor the highest heaven. There was no relative position of things or water deep and unassailable. There was neither death nor immortality, nor there was distinction between day and night. There was nothing but darkness and there was water all around. Volition arose first upon the mind, which is the germ of all creation. Then appeared the almighty Iṣa, the Hiranyagarbha, the Virāt and the Jīvas. The process of creation is not known to any body, nay, not even to Iṣa, who lords it over everything visible or invisible". From the above it is clear that the idea of Vedic creation was quite different from the old Hebrew idea according to which the God takes clay and moulds a new creature as a potter moulds a vessel. The aforesaid volition of the mind is perhaps at the root of later *Karmavāda*. The verse "विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखः" etc. (R.V. X. 81. 3) shows how Visvakarmā creates the earth and the heaven. From it is also found the Vedantic idea that God is both instrumental and material cause of the universe. Both the world and its creator are eternal. The former is eternal like the current of a river (प्रवाहनित्य), while the latter is eternal without any reference to time and space (कूटस्थनित्य). Dissolution

The Vedic
and Hebrew
theory con-
trasted.

Germ of
modern
Vedantism.

means apparent absorption of cosmic matters in the final cause and not their utter annihilation. This explains the dictum "नाशः कारणलयः". The verse viii 8. 98 of the Rgveda declares the resemblance of the present creation to the past ones. The hymn X. 90 (which is popularly known as पुरुषसूक्त) is the best of the cosmic hymns and in it is found an elaborate and vivid description of creation. Another description of creation, is met with in the Hamsavatī Rk (iv. 40), where the sage Vāmadeva speaks of the all-pervading Paramātmā. The Puruṣa Sūkta describes how all the four Vedas, the four castes (Brahmaṇa, Kṣātrīya, Vaiśya and Śūdra), the trees, the birds, the beasts, the luminaries, in short all the sentient and insentient beings of the universe, came out of the body of Puruṣa. The last verse of the 37th Sukta and the 2nd verse of the 10th Maṇḍala hint at the truth lying in the stanza—"अग्नौ प्रास्ताहुतं सम्यक्
आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते । आदित्ताजायते वृष्टिः वृष्टेरन्नं ततः प्रजा ॥, What is the Veda meant for ?
The oblations offered unto Fire go to the Sun from whom proceeds rain that sustains the world. The famous Devī-sūkta (R.V. X. 125) speaks of some mighty power that pervades all gods, all actions, all sacrifices and all strength. Judging all these things closely and carefully it can safely be said

that the modern theory of self-creation is but an echo of the Vedic *Pariṇāmavāda*, though there is a considerable difference between these two. The Vedas while speaking of the eternity of the cosmos, have not done away entirely with the agency of the creator but some western philosophers (Spencer and his followers) deny the existence of the creator and do not find his hand in the work of creation.

The Social and Political condition of Rgvedic India.

The Rgveda throws a flood of light upon the social and political condition of the Aryans of that time. There are some eminent scholars who believe that the Vedic Aryans were a nomadic and pastoral people. This view rests perhaps on the frequent solicitations for food and for cattle. But it is not corroborated by any positive statement. There is, on the contrary, a number of hymns which rather show that they had fixed dwellings, villages and magnificent and fortified towns.¹

Were the
Vedic
Aryans a
nomadic
tribe?

Agriculture.

¹ R.V. II. 41. 1; IV. 30. 3; V. 62. 1; VI. 46. 2; VII. 95. 1. etc.

They might have been pastoral to some extent, but they were in a still greater degree an agricultural people, as is evidenced by their prayer for copious showers of rain and for the fertility of the soil.¹

They were a manufacturing people as well. Reference to the arts of weaving (2. 3. 2 ; 6. 9. 1. etc.), carpentry (4. 2. 3 ; 4. 16. 6), the manufacture of golden and iron coats of mail (1. 140. 5 ; 2. 39. 3 etc.), manufacture of various arms and war materials, such as, bow, arrow, sword, helmet, war-chariot etc. (5. 52. 1 ; 5. 57. 1 ; 6. 27. 3 ; 6. 47. 4 ; 6. 75. 1 ; 2. 34. 2 ; etc) bear testimony to the above fact.

Manufacture
of various
things.

It is specially remarkable that they were a mercantile and maritime people too (1. 116 3-4 ; 4. 55. 3 ; 7. 88. 3 etc). They often asked their cherished deity to make their way, both in land and water, free from all sorts of obstructions, that they might carry their merchandise safe to their destination.

Trade—
inland and
overseas.

The art of war too had attained perfection. The Aryan kings fought against one another or against the non-Aryans of the soil. They fought on foot or from chariots (6. 47. 8 ; 6. 47. 26). Horses and elephants also were used in war (9. 47. 5 ; 6. 46. 13 ; 6. 47. 31 ; 4. 4. 1.). We have also the mention of a naval expedition against a foreign land (8. 36.). Reference

Warfare—
arms and
ammunition.

1. R. V. 1. 3. 8 ; 1. 4. 3 ; 1. 95. 15 ; 4. 57 ; 8. 22. 1. etc.

to aeroplanes also (1. 116. 3 ; 1. 118. 1) support the above statement. They had strong fortress too (7. 3. 7 ; 6. 46. 9). Arrows, spears and axes were prominent weapons of war. Drums were beaten in the fields of war (6. 47. 29). There was an organised system of espionage (1. 71. 4 ; 5. 43. 8). Cows, river-banks and fertile lands were mainly a cause for war (6. 25. 4). The twelve circle of kings was also known to them (1. 73. 3).

They made some advance in astronomical computation also. They made use of an intercalary month for the mutual adjustment of the solar and lunar years (1. 25. 8 ; 1. 164. 15). They ascertained for the purpose of sacrifice the position of stars and planets. There are stray references also to the diurnal and annual motions of the sun, the cause of day and night, the change of seasons, the winter and summer, solstices, the signs of the Zodiac, and the rising and setting of some prominent stars.¹ The mention of magnifying glass and solar eclipse is also met with (5. 40. 5). They also observed that the moon borrows her light from the sun (1. 84. 6.) and that rain sets in with the beginning of the summer-solstice (6. 32. 1). Besides, we find the mention of such natural phenomenon as *Aurora Borealis*. (Vide Tilak's *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*.)

1. R. V. 1. 123. 8 ; 1. 164. 12 ; 6. 42. 5 ; 10. 85. 45 ;
2. 36. 1 eic.

Men and women used to wear ornaments of gold and silver, such as, necklace, bracelet, anklets etc. (4. 37. 2 ; 5. 35. 1 ; 5. 58. 1 etc).

Metal ornaments.

Several forms of Hīndu marriage such as, ब्राह्म, आसुर and स्वयंवर were in vogue (10. 85. 22 ; 10. 27. 12). Monogamy was the rule and polygamy the exception. A widow could marry the younger brother of her husband (10. 40. 2), but there is no positive proof of widow-marriage. A man of higher caste could take a bride from a caste lower than his own (9. 16. 2 ; 10. 39. 14).

Marriage—it kinds.

Distillation of wine was in practice. Some machineries also were in use (6. 44. 24).

Distillation of wine.

Surgery of a high order was known to them (1. 116. 15 ; 1. 118. 8

Surgery.

Females along with males were highly educated. Some of them Apālā, Vis'avārā, Ghosā, Sūrjā, Yamī) were even seers of Vedic hymns. The condition of women was highly superior to what we find now. There was no purdah system which is certainly an outcome of the Mahomedan rule. It is found in Bengal, the Punjab, and the North-western provinces, where the Mahomedan rule was dominant, while women of Madras and Bombay still enjoy freedom of movement. They took part even in warfare. Though women were generally married in an advanced age, still it cannot be definitely said that early marriage was

Female education and their general condition.

Age of marriage.

unknown. The conversation between Agastya and Lopāmudrā rather points to early marriage. Women had a recognised position in the family. Husbands and wives used to perform sacrifices jointly, as is also found in later times. The wives preserved the sacred fire and performed other duties of the household. Some women, as has already been mentioned, were seers of hymns. Of these seers, the names of Lopāmudrā, wife of Agastya and Vāk are very important. The hymn X. 125 was revealed to the latter. She seems to be power, knowledge and wealth incarnate. The hymn contains, says the scholiast, the highest ideal of the conception of God and that these *ṛiks* are at the root of the modern Vedānta philosophy. Lopāmudrā was a princess. Though born and brought up in luxury, she led the humble life of an anchorite and followed her husband like a shadow. The unmarried girls had a share in their father's property (2. 17. 7). A man without issue would take an adopted son and the son of his daughter would inherit his property (3. 31. 1-2).

Dainty dishes of cakes and sweets were used to be prepared (3. 52. 1-3 ; 4. 24. 7). Gold and silver coins were in use. Weavers wove cloths both of fur and thread (2. 38. 4 ; 6. 9. 12 ; 10. 26. 6).

There were some bad practices, such as,

Sacrifice,

Seers of
Vedic hymns,

Vāk

Lopāmudrā.

Inheritance.

Food, coin
and cloth.

selling of a bride to an unworthy bride-groom, gambling, illicit connection with women, procuring abortion by unchaste women, use of black-art etc. Instances of chastity of women, theft, loan, burning of dead bodies, *srādh*, slaughter of animals and music etc. abound in the Rgveda.

Good and bad practices.

The Vedic Aryans, like the Vedantins of the modern times, divided things in two broad divisions—the sentient and the insentient. They firmly believed that *Ātmā* alone is real and eternal and all other beings are transitory and perishable. They had belief in the theory of Transmigration of the soul (10. 14. 2 ; 10. 15). They knew perfectly well that the body after death is decomposed and its various elements mix with similar subtle elements, but the eternal soul remains unchanged. The two paths, *Devajāna* and *Pitṛjāna* were known to them. But their ideas of these two paths were quite different from what is understood by these now. They believed that the dead repair to the *Pitṛloka* by *Pitṛjāna* and through *Devajāna* they go to heaven and are again born according to the dispensation of gods (X. 16. 2—4). Yama leads them to the place of enjoyment and they see Yama and Varuṇa in the next world. The 14th hymn of Mandala X. speaks of a pair of Yama's hounds, his sable attendants. They

Idea of the world and God.

Transmigration.

Devajāna and *Pitṛjāna*.

Yama and Varuṇa—masters of the next world.

say prayers to Yama with a view to get rid of his grim grasp.

Heaven.

The description of heaven is very charming. It is full of light and nectar and is free from decay and death. Here desires are fully satisfied and the pleasures attained to are never annihilated.

Span of life.

The usual span of life was a hundred years (II. 27. 7 ; III. 362 ; V. 54.3 , VI. 66. I ; 10. 85. 12 etc).

Satee.

It is doubtful if Satee-rite was practised. The verses X. 18. 7-8 may only refer to a customary rite, as is evidenced by Gṛhya Sūtras.

Funeral.

Both cremation and burial were in practice as in the present time. There are five funeral hymns in the Rgveda (X. 14—18). From the last of these we get information regarding the funeral process and the customs of the Vedic Aryans in connection with this ceremony. After burning the ashes were kept in a vessel or urn and then buried underneath the ground. At the time of burial several ṛks were uttered (R. V. X. 18. 10-13). Agni carries the soul to the next world where the gods and manes ramble and dwell.

VEDIC MYTHOLOGY

Mythology has its source in the attempt of the human mind in a primitive and unscientific age to explain the various forces and pheno-

Origin and
Development
of
Mythology.

mena of nature with which it is confronted. The intellectual difficulties raised by the course of the heavenly bodies, by the incidents of the thunder storm, by reflexions of the other world, here receive their solutions in the form of stories. The basis of these myths is the primitive attitude of mind which regards all nature as an aggregate of animated entities. A myth actually arises when the imagination interprets a natural event as the action of a personified being resembling the human agent. An original myth enters on the further stage of practical embellishment as soon as it becomes the property of people endowed with creative imagination.

Influence of
sacred
writings,

THE VEDAS AND THE SĀSTRAS—The original sacred books of the Hindus—reveal that all the objects and phenomena of nature with which man in the germinal state of civilisation is surrounded, are animate and divine. Everything that impressed the soul with awe or was regarded as capable of exercising a good or evil influence on man, might in the Vedic age still become a direct object not only of adoration but of prayer. The Vedic and the Paurāṇic mythologies are the inevitable product of the age and the country, and of social and climatic conditions.

The most important source of Vedic mythology is the oldest literary monument of

Source of
mythology
and
theological
treatises.

India, the R̥gveda. Its mythology deals with a number of co-ordinate nature-gods of varying importance. Polytheism under the influence of an increasing tendency to abstraction at the end of the R̥gvedic period exhibits in its latest book the beginnings of a kind of monotheism and even signs of pantheism. This latter developed at first into the Paurāṇic *triad*—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Ś'iva—and then into numerous paurāṇic gods. The adoration of the deities in post-Vedic times increased the volumes of the logical treatises.

CASTE-SYSTEM.

Was there
Caste-system
During the
Vedic age ?

Opinions of
scholars.

Maxmüller.

Weber.

Roth.

It is one of the most raging questions of the day if caste-system was prevalent during the Vedic ages and specially during the age of the R̥gveda. Scholars, both oriental and occidental, differ in their opinion : some acknowledge the existence of caste from time immemorial, while others advocate its modernness. 'Caste as now understood, says Maxmüller, 'is not a Vedic institution and in disregarding the rules of caste no command of the real Veda is violated'¹. Prof. Weber too in his History of Indian Literature, while speaking of the Vedic period, writes, 'There are no castes as yet ; the people is one undivided whole, and bears but one name that of Vis'as². Prof Roth in his third

1 Chips from a German Workshop Vol. II. pp 307-8

2. Indian Literature P 38

Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda' (p 117) and in his paper on 'Brahma and the Brāhmaṇas' in the first volume of the journal of the German Oriental Society, speaks of the gradual growth of castes¹. Having quoted R. V. IV. 50. 4ff he continues, 'In this manner here and in many places of the liturgical and legal books, the promise of every blessing is attached to the maintenance of a priest by the king. In as much as he supports and honours the priest, the latter ensures to him the favour of the gods. So it was that the caste of the Brāhmaṇas arose and attained to power and consideration: first they were only the single domestic priest of the kings; then the dignity became hereditary in certain families; finally a union occasioned by

How it developed in later times?

How the Brāhmaṇas attained to superior position in the society?

1 In his *Brahma and the Brāhmaṇas* he says, 'The religious development of India is attached through the course of three thousand years to the word *Brahma*. The original signification of the word is that of prayer. From this oldest sense and the form *Brahma* (neuter) originated the masculine noun *Brahmā*, a particular priest at Vedic sacrifice and this at a later time developed into Brahmanical castes. In his third *Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Vedas* he remarks: 'In the Vedic age, access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice was open to all classes of the community. Those people who conducted worship for others were styled *Purohita*. But these priests had as yet no especial sanctity or exclusive prerogative which could render their employment imperative.'

similarity of interests, of these families in one larger community was effected ; and all this reciprocal action with the progress made in other respects by theological doctrine and religious worship. When at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the R̥gveda the Vedic people driven by some political shock, advanced from their abodes in the Puñjāb further and further, drove the aborigines into the hills and took possession of the broad tract of country lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range, the time had arrived when the distribution of power, the relation of kings and priests, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner. In this stage of disturbance and complication, power naturally fell into the hands of those who did not directly possess any authority, the priestly class and their leaders, who had hitherto stood rather in the position of followers of the kings, but now rose to a higher rank. If we take further into account the intellectual and moral influence which this class possessed in virtue of the prerogative conceded to, or usurped by them and the religious feeling of the people, it is not difficult to comprehend how in such a period of transition powerful communities should arise among the domestic priests of petty kings and their families, should attain to the highest importance in every department of life,

How the position of the king became subordinate.

and should grow into a caste which, like the ecclesiastical order in the middle ages of Christianity, began to look upon secular authority as an effluence from the fulness of their power, to be conferred at their will ; and how on the other hand, the numerous royal families should sink down into a nobility which possessed, indeed, the sole right to the kingly dignity, but at the same time, when elected by the people, required inauguration in order to their recognition by the priesthood, and were enjoined above all things to employ only Brāhmaṇas as their counsellors."

Paṇḍit Ramānātha Sarasvatī in his translation of the Rgveda (Part I. Vol. II. pp 36-37) while commenting upon the word पञ्चक्षिति, says, "In days of yore there is no mention of caste, as it is now found. क्षिति can never refer to a caste or colour, but it means a place, a tract of land. It seems to me, says he, that the word refers to the five tracts of land lying about the five tributaries of the Indus, where the Aryans had first migrated from their original home." There are some scholars again who hold that at first there was but one undivided race like the one undivided Veda'¹. They found their views on expressions which are found in the Mahābhārat (Śanti Parva 188.10),

Ramānātha
Sarasvatī
on the caste

The Mahā-
bhārat etc.

1. एकएवं पूरावेदः प्रणवः सर्व्ववाङ्मयः ।

एकोनारायणो नान्य एकोऽग्निर्व ण एव च ।

Bhāgavata IX. 14. 13.

Explanation
of some pan-
rāṇic texts.

the Vāyupurāṇa (VIII, 62), and some other texts. The verse—"न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां—etc. (Mahā. Sānti Parva 188.10) is not, I think, in their favour. The Mahābhārat, as it appears from hundreds of passages scattered here and there, speaks expressly of four original castes. Here too the verse should not be interpreted in the way in which it is so done by these scholars. Bhṛgu in answer to Bharadvāja's query speaks of the creation of four castes and their colour. The Chapter opens thus—Brahmā created first the Brāhmaṇas and then Prajāpatīs. He also created the four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣātriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra and the colours of all of them as well. "If colour is the criterion" says Bharadvāja, "for ascertaining castes then there is a mixture of colour in every caste. Moreover if this colour refers to mental emotion and bodily condition, then too this is in common with all castes, as happiness and sorrow, warmth and coolness etc., are enjoyed in common by all. In reply to this question Bhṛgu says very vividly in the following manner :

—Colour alone cannot distinguish one caste from another. Brāhmaṇas even, who were first created by Brahmā attained various colours in accordance with their actions, internal and external, and hence they were known as क्षत्र ब्राह्मण ; वैश्य ब्राह्मण and शूद्र ब्राह्मण etc. They were

termed besides under different appellations, such as, पिशाच, राक्षस, प्रेत, स्त्रेच्छ etc. This is corroborated by the text of Atri (346—74 verses) where he speaks of ten different kinds of Brāhmaṇas. Had the meaning of the verse been that Brahmā created the Brāhmaṇas first and from them proceeded the other three castes, then the question put by Bharadvāja to Bhṛgu in the next chapter (ब्राह्मणः केन भवति क्षत्रियो वा द्विजौत्तमः etc) would have been irrelevant, as the answer given here had already been given in connection with the verse “न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानाम् etc.” Moreover, the last half of the verse “न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणो न च” would have been meaningless. Besides, the stanza may also be explained in a different manner. “In truth there is no distinction of caste as Brahma pervades the whole universe and there is no other existence but His. Castes are but creation of worldly practices and कर्म is at the root of this distinction.” The Gītā also supports this view by saying “चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्म-विभागशः”

Divisions
of
Brāhmaṇas.

Gītā.

There is a set of scholars again who hold that at first there were only two broad divisions of people—the Aryans and the non-Aryans. In support of their argument they advance the following reasons. “In the earlier books of the R̥gveda there is no mention of different castes. It is only in the 10th Mandala,

Two broad
divisions of
castes.

R̥gveda.

which is supposed by them to be a later addition, that the names of four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣātriya, Vaiśya and Śudra are met with for the first time. What we get from the earlier part of R̥gveda is that there were some people who sang songs and performed sacrifices; some again helped the performance of such sacrifices with their wealth and services: but there was no systematic division of castes. Besides them there was another set of people the aborigenes, who were called the Dasyu or Dāsas.¹ As the people grew more and more numerous and the ceremonials became pompous and complicated, the necessity for a division of labour was felt. Thus the performers of the sacrifice (without any distinction of caste or creed) were called Brāhmaṇas; those that were skilled in arms and had great strength to protect people were termed Kṣātriyas and those that helped the above two classes with wealth and services were respectively called Vaiśyas and Śudras. The latter were the Dasyus or Dāsas. From this it appears that castes originally grew in accordance with the offices one performed and not with their birth. Attempts are made even now-a-days

Division of labour is at the root of the origin of castes.

1. This view is supported by Umesh Chandra Vataryāin in his *Veda Praveśikā*.² In his opinion the चातुर्वर्ण्य system was established by the sage S'annaka. V. A. Smith also supports this view.

to prove this. Prof. E. G. Rapson says in his 'Ancient India': "Although in the early period of the R̥gveda, the caste-system was unknown—the four castes are only definitely mentioned in one of the latest hymns—yet the social conditions which led to its development were already present.' The learned professor also notes, "the first great division between the conquerors and the conquered was founded on colour. In fact, the same Sanskrit word *Varna*, means both colour and caste. This was the basis on which a broad distinction was subsequently drawn between the twice-born and the servile castes or Śūdras. The threefold divisions of the twice-born into the ruling class (Kṣattriyas), the priests (Brāhmaṇas) and the tillers of the soil (Vais'yas), finds its parallel in other Indo-European communities, and indeed it seems to represent the natural distribution of functions which occurs generally in human societies at a similar state of advancement."

E. G. Rapson.

Caste-system not known to the early period of the R̥gveda.

Colour was first at the root of the origin of caste.

Castes—according to the functions of people.

Before jumping, however, to such a conclusion let us pause a little and ponder over the following facts that can be gathered from the Vedic texts and other scriptures related thereto. Almost all the hymns of the R̥gveda prove in the garb of an allegory the truth underlying the verse — "अग्नौ प्रोक्ताहुतं सम्यगादित्यमुपतिष्ठते । आदित्याज्जायते वृष्टिः वृष्टेरन्नं ततः प्रजाः ॥" Oblations

What the yke are means for ?

offered unto fire go to the sun. From the sun proceeds rain which again sustains the world." Keeping this fact in view which is the real aim of the Samhitā portion of the Veda, Jaimini, the author of the Mīmamsā Philosophy, has composed the *Sūtra*, "आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्य-नतदर्शानाम्" (II. 2. 1.). "The hymns of the Vedas are meant only for the purpose of sacrifice and hence all other things found therein are of no value." It is also met with often that the people of the time, with a view to attain material and spiritual prosperity, used to perform Vedic sacrifices for the satisfaction of some emanation from God. They firmly believed that the deities adored, if satisfied, would shower blessings on them profusely. This is not all, but they held that salvation even proceeds from sacrifice. In short, the four-fold human pursuits are attainable from sacrifice alone. For proper performance of sacrifices they engaged priests versed in the Vedas and ritualistic ceremonials. The number of these priests varied from four to sixteen. In the Atharva Veda the number is found more than sixteen even. The scholiast (Sāyaṇa) while commenting on the Vedas and specially on verses describing the functions of different priests, has unhesitatingly said that they were all Brāhmaṇas. This view is corroborated by the Brāhmaṇas and other liturgical literatures

Opinion of
Jaimini.

How Vedic
sacrifices
were per-
formed and
who were
eligible to
perform
those cere-
monies ?

The
liturgical
literature.

as well. From the arrangment of hymns also it is seen clearly that they do not constitute a regular treatise but are some independent stanzas addressed to some deity or deities at a particular sacrifice.

Now the functions of the Brāhmaṇs and the Kalpa Sūtras being to prescribe which hymn is to be applied in what sacrifice and whose function it is to use them and to explain as well the method as to how a ceremonial has to be celebrated, we are to depend on them mainly, though not completely, regarding things concerned with sacrifices and other allied ceremonials. These treatises speak clearly of different castes and their respective duties. And as the Brāhmaṇs, as said before, form a part of the Vedas and the Kalpa Sūtras were composed after a short interval of the revelation of the Vedas and not in comparatively recent times as some scholars hold, it is but natural to have belief in the state of things as asserted by them, as they are direct authorities on the performance of sacrifices and other rituals.

As regards the verse of the Bhāgavata purāṇa (IX. 14. 48) quoted above it would suffice to say that the word एतद् there has been used in the sense of *primary* and not *singularly*.

Now we come to dicuss the stanza in the

Vāyu Purāṇa Vāyu purāṇa (VIII. 62) which speaks as follows —“And there were then no distinction of castes or orders and no mixture of castes.” To understand this verse we shall have recourse to verses going before as also those that follow. The chapter opens with the description of creation and closes with the duties of castes and orders of life. It is found also in verse 74 of the same chapter that the division of caste existed from the beginning of creation. Besides, from the Uttarākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Chapter 74 and from the Bhīṣma Parva of the Mahābhārata there can be found indications that in the Kṛta yuga there existed Brāhmaṇas alone and that Kṣattriyas only began to be born in the Tretā. These words of the purāṇas and epics, a careful reader would see, are nothing but eulogium with reference to Kṛta age, when goodness alone prevailed. The meaning of the expression—“there were no castes and orders”—is that sin being unknown to the age one could not distinguish one caste from another by their conduct and behaviours. All the castes trod the same path and refrained from doing injury to others. Thus they all were possessed of the Brāhmaṇical qualities and hence were called Brāhmaṇas. Such ideas may also be had from the verses—“चण्डालोपि द्विजश्रेष्ठः
हरिभक्तिपरायणः ; न वै शूद्रो भवेत् शूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च
ब्राह्मणः” etc. Leaving aside these Paurāṇic descriptions let us come to the Saṃhitās and

Rāmāyaṇa
and
Mahābhārata

Brāhmanas and see what they really mean by "the origin of castes."

an extract from his "The Origin of Brāhmanism" (published at Poona in 1863, pp 4, 5, 6 etc) Dr. Haug thus states his views on this question. It has been of late asserted that the original parts of the Vedas do not know the system of caste. But this conclusion was prematurely arrived at without sufficiently weighing the evidence. It is true the caste system is not to be found in such a developed state; the duties enjoined to the several castes are not so clearly defined as in the law books and Purāṇas. But nevertheless the system is already known in the earlier parts of the Vedas, or rather presupposed. The barriers only were not so insurmountable as in later times. This view he supports by a reference to the Zend Avesta, in which he finds evidence of a division of the followers of Ahura Mazda into three classes of Atharvas, Rathaesthas, and Vastrya shuyans, which he regards as corresponding exactly to the Brāhmanas, Kṣattriyas and Vaisyas of India. The Atharvas, or priest, in particular formed a class or even a caste; they had secrets which they were prohibited from divulging; they were spiritual guides of their nation, and none but the son of a priest could become a priest—a rule which the Parsis still maintain. From these facts, Dr.

Dr. Haug.

Zend Avesta.

perusal of descriptions given in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā (II. 4. 13. 1 ; vii. 1. 1. 4.) ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1. 4. 11 ; X iv. 4. 2. 23) ; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (III. 2. 3. 9) ; Atharva Veda (IV. 6. 1 ; V. 17, 9 ; Xv. 9. 1) ; Sāma-Veda 1. 262 etc. in relation to the origin of castes, there remains no doubt that castes prevailed from time immemorial.

Manu Saṃhitā, the most important of all Dharma Saṃhitās gives a faithful translation of the verse—*ब्राह्मणोऽयं सुखमासीत्* etc.—of the Ṛgveda in (I. 31.) and acknowledges the eternal existence of castes. Viṣṇu Purāṇa (1. 6. 35) too speaks in the same strain—when true to his design Brahmā became desirous of creating the world, creatures in whom goodness prevailed sprung from his mouth. Others in whom passion predominated came from his breast, others in whom both passion and darkness were strong proceeded from his thighs. Others he created from his feet in whom darkness alone prevailed. Of these was composed the system of four castes.

Manu,

Stray references to various castes and tribes¹ in the mantra portion of the Vedas too point to the conclusion that caste was an established institution during the Vedic ages.

It would not be out of place to mention here that the last verse of the *Puruṣa Sūkta*,

1. R. V. 1. 140. 5 ; 2. 39. 3 ; 2. 3. 2 ; 4. 16. 6 ; 5. 52, 1 ; 6. 47, 6 etc.

Varnāśram
Dharma was
established
during the
Rgvedic
age.

Gitā.

Natural
conjecture.

Action at
the root of
difference
castes.

यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्तदेवाः etc. speaks of the यज्ञायाम
घम' also that was well established long before
the compilations of the Vedic hymns in the shape
of Samhitās. The principle underlying the caste-
system of the Hindus, though it has become a
much maligned topic of the day, is not to my
mind, a thing of human origin, but is im-
planted by God Himself upon the very
nature of things according to qualities and
actions as asserted by the गीता and other
religious texts. In this wide universe no two
things are alike. Men differ from men,
beasts from beasts and birds from birds and
that not only in physical shape but also in
their inherent attributes and characteristics.
When I see a lion stronger than an elephant
and an elephant stronger than a wolf and so
on, I should according to the modern levelling
tendency, charge the great Creator with parti-
ality. Everywhere in the wide field of creation
I find classes and classes, degrees and degrees
ranging from the highest to the lowest. Pro-
perties and characteristics essentially vary even
in the same class in all non-human creations.¹
Why should they not vary in the human
species? If God can create differences and
distinctions based thereupon in non-human
kingdoms, why should He not do so in the

1. In the Brāhmaṇas and other scriptures Gods, trees
etc. also have been divided into four classes Brāhmaṇas,
Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

human world? A lion is certainly a nobler and stronger animal than a jackal ; so a man-lion is nobler and higher than a man-jackal. The distribution of qualities is made to be variant, according to previous actions, by God Himself and so the difference between one member and another even in the same class, arises. This unequal qualitative distribution (not to omit the quantitative one also) has given rise to different castes. As a mango is superior to a cocoanut and a cocoanut to a berry and so on, so a Brāhmaṇa is superior to a Kṣātriya and a Kṣātriya to a Vaiśya. The difference between one caste and another, as ordained by God, does not mean and emphasize a dogged whimsical difference, having no legs to stand upon, but a real difference of qualitative quintessence having full justice to count upon. Why all monkeys were not created men and all men not monkeys, under God's will, is an engaging enigma that will remain insoluble for ever.

Distinction
between
caste and
caste indi-
vidual and
individual
is found
everywhere.

Certainly, now-a-days, people of a particular caste in some cases, have degenerated from their primitive standard of excellence and virtues. Yet the degeneration is not whole and wholesale but partial and in particular aspects only.

It would not be proper to expunge and eradicate rashly those sound principles which

Is the system
wholesome
to the
society?

bear the inspiring impress of God's hands. To strive after an equality with advantages gained in a few items only and with everything else at a disadvantage is a sheer silliness of which a reasonable being should be ashamed. A cobbler reading a few pages of literature and philosophy but standing in the back ground in every other respect, viz, nobleness, manliness, politeness, kindness, gentleness and gentlemanliness, etc., cannot be deemed equal to a Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya who, though inferior to him in book learning, is yet superior in thousand other ways.

Degeneration
does not
mean eradi-
cation.

The question of heritage is a vital point and a world of darling dogmatism cannot shove it by. A full century of education has sometimes, been found to be awfully upset even by a poor particle of a hurtful heritage.

Meaning of
equalisation

This is an unflinchingly orthodox view and cases are really seen where many a Sūdra is better than many a Brāhmaṇa in more respects than one. But yet a mango is always a mango, however deteriorated it may be, and inspite of its deterioration, it shall ever retain the properties of a mango. This is a law of nature. Besides, it is staunchly supported by Śāstras also.¹ Burke says—"Those, who level, do not equalise." Indeed, equality means equality in everyone's own sphere. The principle-

1. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च त्वयं ब्राह्मणकारणम्

that all men are equal means that all men are equal in their own spheres to enjoy their rights and privileges. A scavenger cannot be expected to be at all equal to a king, though both of them have their own rights and privileges and are equal in that sense only.

Experience tells us that a low heritage is an ugly monomania which, in most cases, even all the united influences of education fail to stamp out. The pure elixir, supplied by culture, is denuded of its substance and compromised in its existence in contact with the accumulated forces of a bad heritage corrupting the genial currents of human souls. In more than hundreds of instances, it has been proved to the hilt that lowborn people, inspite of their much vaunted culture, have exhibited a meanness in manners which one should be ashamed of—a single word or mannerism being sufficient to let the cat out of the bag.

Value of heritage.

'First deserve and then desire' should be the only motto of those who are defiled and contaminated by low heritage. Paths for advancement are open to all, - it is reasonable only to select one, which would suit one's purpose. This is what appears to be the essence of this barrier from the Vedic and other scriptural texts.

We do not hesitate, however, to acknowledge frankly that rigorousness with respect to

Rigorousness.

marriage and food etc., was not so strictly observed in the Vedic period as it is done now.

Merits and
demerits,

As regards the merits and demerits of the Caste-system we do not like to delineate upon them here. In the opinion of some it is wholesome to the society, while in the opinion of others it is not. We only give here our free and impartial interpretations of the texts dealing with the question and leave the decision entirely upon the readers.

Brāhmacarī
and his duty

It was a bounden duty on the part of the Brāhmanas to study the Vedas or the Veda, after the ceremony of sacred thread, in the house of their ācārya for a period of 36, 18, 9 or more years if required. In studying the Veda particular care should be given to its rhythm and accent. The Vedic verses were composed of stanzas having certain feet or *caranās* consisting generally of 8 or 12 syllables. There are 21 metres in the Vedic verses, of which seven are important.¹ The *Gāyatrī* metre contains three of eight-syllable feet. The *Uṣṇic* contains four of seven-syllable feet. The *Anuṣṭup* and other metres given here contain *four of eight, nine, eleven and twelve* syllable feet in order. Thus we find that the *Gāyatrī* has 24 letters while each succeeding metre has four letters more in succession.²

The Veda—
its verses,
metres etc.

1. See Introduction

2. For elaborate description see Pingala's *श्रुतम्* and *वङ्ग मुद्रिणी*'s commentary on *सञ्ज्ञादुक्तमिह*.

It is not yet finally settled where the Aryans dwelt at first. Some say that central Asia was their original home, while others raise dispute and say that they lived first in the Caucasian region near the sources of the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. Prof. Bāla Gangādhara Tilak has tried to prove in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* that the Aryans lived first in the Arctic region. Paṇḍit Umesandra Vidyārātṇa has proved in his "*Manavera Ādī janmabhūmi*" that the Aryans first lived in the country which is nothing but modern Mongolia. Whatever might be their original home, it is pretty certain that in course of time they migrated in two different directions. One band entered India through the North-western passes and settled in the Puñjāb and the other made their way to the continent and lived for a long time on the Caucasian soil. This perhaps led some Western scholars to think that this land was the original home of the Aryans.

Original
home of the
Aryans.

Vedic Accent

There are threefold accents in all the texts of the four Vedas and in two Brāhmaṇs, the Taittirīya (including its Āraṇyaka) and the Śatapatha (including the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad). These are उदात्त (acute), अनुदात्त (grave) and स्वरित (circumflex). The vowel which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation, such as,

Udātta,
anudātta
and Svarita.

throat etc., is called उदात्त or accutely accented.

The vowel which is pronounced from the lower part of its proper place of pronunciation, such as, palate etc., is called अनुदात्त or gravely accented. The vowel that has the combination of the above two accents and proceeds from the line that divides its proper place of pronunciation in two, is called स्वरित or circumflexly accented¹. There are four different methods of marking the accent in Vedic texts.

Method of
marking
accents of
Vedic texts.

The system in the R̥gveda is followed by the Atharva Veda, the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇ. Here the acute accent is not marked at all, the grave accent is marked by a horizontal line underneath the vowel and the circumflex accent is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the vowel. Both the Maitrāyaṇi and Kāṭhaka Saṃhitās, (two recensions of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā), mark the Udātta with a vertical stroke above. The Maitrāyaṇi indicates the independent Svarita by a curve below; but the dependent Svarita by a horizontal stroke crossing the middle of the syllable or by three vertical strokes above it. The Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā marks the independent Svarita by a curve below when an unaccented syllable follows, but by a hook below when an accented syllable

1. उच्चैरुदात्तः (१११२८) ; नीचैरनुदात्तः (१११३०) ;
समाहारः स्वरितः (१११३१) ।

ble follows. The dependent Svarita has a dot below the accented syllable. The Anudatta is marked in both with a horizontal stroke below. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā marks the Udatta only with a horizontal stroke below. The Sāma Veda marks the accents Udatta, Svarita and Anudatta by the figures, 1, 2, 3 written above the syllables. It has already been said that a Mantra should never fall short of rhythm or accent or it would produce contrary result.

The Aryans lived in villages and towns and they had often a hereditary monarch to rule over them. The republican form of Government also was known in Vedic age. Vedic people knew besides Sabhās and Samitis. The duty of the king was to protect his subjects and keep order of the society. He, with the help of priests etc. administered justice to his people. The payment of regular tax was known. People would often present many valuable things to the king.

Monarchi-
al organisa-
tion.

The Aryans in days of yore had the joint family system. The father was the head of the family and the mother managed the household affairs. Women were held in high respect. They were given proper education and we find that some hymns of the Vedas too were revealed to them. After their marriage they had to live with their husbands but the unmarried girls, who lived with their fathers got a share of their property like the sons.

Aryan home
—the joint
family
system

Seas. The Vedic Indians knew something about seas, rivers and mountains. They do not mention the name of any particular sea, but the word sea has often been mentioned here and there in many passages of the Ṛgveda¹. Mention of चतुःसमुद्र even finds its place in X. 47. 2. Still some Western scholars hold that the sea was unknown to the Vedic Aryans.

Mountains. The Ṛgveda speaks of the Himavat and Mujāvat mountains and their peaks.

Rivers. The names of 21 rivers, such as, गङ्गा, यमुना, सरस्वती, रसा, शतद्रू, etc. are found in the Ṛgveda. The verse X. 104. 8 speaks of 99 rivers.

Trees, beasts and birds. The names of some trees, beasts and birds too are mentioned in the Ṛgveda. Of the trees the names of *Khadira*, *Śimūla*, *Urvāruka*, *śami*, *śiśampā* etc. are found². Of the beasts the reference to the horse, elephant, goat, wolf, dog, cow, buffalo, boar, deer, camel, etc. is found³. It mentions the names of wild goose, ruddy goose, hawk, owl, vulture, curlew, peacock, *hāridrava*, *kapinjala* etc.⁴ It is strange that the cat is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda. It is also curious to note that the dog was not a hated animal at that time.

1. R. V. I. 116, 3; IV. 56, 6; VII, 88, 3; VIII 92, 22; IX, 33, 6 etc

2. R. V. III, 53, 19, 22; VII, 50, 3; VII, 59, 12; X, 31 10 etc,

3, R. V, I, 164, 43; I, 186, 7; II, 24, 2; II, 34, 9; 39 2; III. 2. 11; II, 18, 56; IV, 4, 1; VI, 17, 11; VII, 65, 4; VIII, 86, 8; VIII, 56, 3 etc,

CHAPTER II.

THE SĀMA AND THE YAJUR VEDAS.

The उद्गातृ priests had to cite some hymns in particular tunes during the performance of ceremonies, connected with the Soma sacrifice. These hymns, when collected, came to be known as the Sāmaveda. Most of the hymns of the Sāma-Veda have been taken from the 8th. and 9th. Maṇḍalas of the Ṛg-veda. Except some 78 hymns all other hymns are the modifications of the ṛks.¹ This difference in the hymns of the Ṛk and the Sāma Vedas is due, perhaps, to the divisions of the Veda in different Śākhās or to the system of teaching the mantras by rote. There are thousand and one ways in which these hymns of the Sāmaveda may be sung. Historically it is not important at all. The Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇ says,—this Veda and the Yajus are the attendants of the Rgveda.² The Sāma and the Yajur Vedas have been collected only for ritual application.

The Sāma
veda—its
source and
application.

There are 1810 stanzas in the Sāma-Veda, of which 261 are mere repetitions and so the number of stanzas in the Sāmaveda are really

1 Vincent Smith notes 75 only.

२ तत्परिचरणावितरौ वेदौ । ६।११।

The body
of the
Sāmaveda
—its general
division.

1549, divided into two books called *ārčiks* or collections of *ṛks* and *gāṇas*. The first is divided into six prapāṭhakas (chapters) subdivided into half-chapters and into daśatis (sections). Each chapter has ten sections, containing as a rule ten verses, each, excepting the sixth which has only nine verses in it. This portion is again subdivided into three parts—*chandas*, *Āraṇyaka*s and *Uttarās*. The second is divided into nine chapters, each being divided into two or three sections and each containing generally three stanzas. This again is subdivided into *Grāmageya*, *Āraṇyageya* and *Ūha* and *Ūhya*. Here the hymns of the R̥gveda have either been repeated, elongated and new words have been inserted to make them fit for singing. *Grāmageya* and *Āraṇya* adopted the principle of *Chanda Ārcika*, while the *Ūhas* and *Ūhyas* adopted that of the *Uttarārcika*. The hymns sung by the Udgātr̥-priests in populous villages were called *Grāmageya*, while those sung in solitary forests came to be known as *Āraṇyageyas*.

The *gāṇas* have four books—*Grāmageya*, *Āraṇyageya*, *Ūha* and *Ūhya*. These have 17, 6, 23 and 6 prapāṭhakas respectively. The verses of the first 13 sections are addressed to Agni, while those of the last 11 to Soma. The intermediate stanzas are chiefly addressed to Indra..

The second book is later in date and second in character. We know from the Śatapatha

Gāṇas—
their divi-
sions.

Brāhman that before the composition of the second part of the Brāhman of this Veda, the divisions of the 1st book of the Sāmaveda were extant. That Sāma Veda is older than the Taittiriya and Vājasaneyī Saṃhitās is proved by the fact that the stanzas of the Sāmaveda in modified forms are found in them. Some scholars finding a few archaic forms in the Sāmaveda suppose it to be older even than the Ṛk Saṃhitā. One of them has cited a sloka from the Ṛg-Veda and several other passages from different Śrutis and purāṇas in support of his argument. But this view has not found any support from other veteran Vedic scholars.

The second book—a later addition, and the age of the Sāmaveda,

According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa Jaimini, Sumanta and Sukarmā studied the Sāmaveda and taught this to their disciples. Sukarmā, the grandson of Jaimini, had Kauśalya, Hiranyanābha and Pauṣpiṇja as his disciples. The disciples of this Hiranyanābha had 15 pupils who were termed Prācyasāmaga. Of these the sage Kṛti had 24 disciples who propagated many a śākhā of the Sāmaveda. Pauṣpiṇji had Lokākṣi, Kuthumi, Kusīdi and Lāṅgali as his pupils¹. Caranavyūha mentions

Propagation and Division of the Sāmaveda—its Śākhās,

1. प्रोवाच कृतिनामासौ शिष्येभ्यः स महामतिः ।

तैत्र्यापि सामवेदोऽसौ शाखाभिर्यदुलीकृतः ॥

सामवेदतरोः शाखा व्यासशिष्यः स जमिनिः ।

क्रमेण येन सैवेव ! विसेद ग्रन्थु तन्मम ॥

seven principal Śākhās of the Sāmaveda. These are—Rāṇāyaniya, Śātyamugra, Kalāpa, Mahākalāpa, Śārdūla, Lāṅgalāyana and Kauthuma. The five sub-Śākhās of the Kauthuma Śākhā are Āsurāyana, Vātāyana, Prāñjalidvaitabhṛt, Prācīnayogya and Naigeya. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa there were once a thousand Śākhās of the Sāmaveda. This view has been accepted by Durgācārya, a commentator on the Niruktas. Of the Śākhās mentioned above only three—the Kauthuma in Gujrat and Bengal, the Jaiminiya in Karṇāṭa and the Rāṇāyaniya in Mahārāṣṭra—are found. In Bengal, there are Brāhmaṇas of no other school than that of the Kauthuma. According to Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī names of 13 Śākhās of the Sāmaveda are known; but of these only Kauthumī and Rāṇāyaniya are extant. Though Yajurveda resembles Sāmaveda in respect of its derivation from the R̥gveda for ritualistic application, it differs from that veda in

Difference
of Yajurveda
from the
Sāmaveda.

सुमन्तुस्तस्य पुत्रोऽभूत्, सुकर्मास्याप्यभूत् सुतः ।
अधीतवन्तावेकैकां संहितां तौ महासुनौ ॥
साहस्रं संहिताभेदं सुकर्मा तत्सुतस्ततः ।
चकार तं च तच्छिष्यौ जगद्वाते महामती ॥
हिरण्यनाभः कौशल्यः पौषिञ्जश्च द्विजोत्तमः ।
उदीच्यसामगाः शिष्यास्तेसुः पञ्चदश स्मृताः ॥
लोकाधिः कुपुमिथैव कुसौदिर्लज्जलिस्तथा ।
पौषिञ्जिशिष्या स्तेभेदैः संहिता बहुलौकताः ॥
हिरण्यनाभः शिष्यश्चतुर्विंशतिसंहिताः—विष्णुपराय ॥ ३।६ ॥

one respect. While Sāmaveda has no claim to originality Yajurveda abounds in many original matters. Besides, what is technically called the chandah period ends with the Sāmaveda and prose for the first time has been introduced in the Yajurveda. The Yajurveda explains regularly and systematically all the sacrificial ceremonies excepting the Soma-sacrifices explained in the Ṛk and the Sāma Vedas. So according to the Vāyu Purāṇa Yajurveda is what was instructed by way of sacrifice. It was the sole-guide for performance of sacrifices and hence the name¹.

There are two principal divisions of the Yajurveda—the Śukla and the Kṛṣṇa. Though the subject-matter of these two Saṃhitās is principally the same, their collection and arrangement are quite different.

In the Black Yajurveda the Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇ portions have been blended together, while in the white Yajurveda these two portions like the Ṛk and Sāma Saṃhitās have been kept separate. This points to the later origin of the white Yajurveda. Because of this mixture of the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇ, the Black Yajurveda has become anomalous, while the text of the White Yajurveda is clear in consequence of the distinct division of the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇ portion. The Black

General
division of
the Yajur-
veda.

Nature of
the Black
and the
White
Yajurvedas.

Why the
Śukla Yajur-
veda is
called
Vājasaneyi
Saṃhitā.

1 यच्छिष्टं यजुर्वेदं, तेन यज्ञमयुञ्जत ।

याजनादि यजुर्वेद इति शास्त्रस्य निश्चयः ।

Yajurveda Saṃhitā is known as the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, while the white Yajurveda goes by the name of Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā. The Viṣṇu and the Vāyu purāṇas give an account of the distinction of these two Saṃhitās. * Mahīdhara says in his own commentary that Yājñavalkya,

* There was a great conference of the sages on the top of the great Meru. It was proclaimed that he who would not attend it within seven nights should be involved in the sin of murdering a Brāhmaṇa. Vaiśampāyana, the preceptor of Yājñavalkya could not attend this. It so chanced that he kicked his nephew to death and thus committed the sin of murdering a Brāhmaṇa. Then he asked his disciples to atone for his sin, whereupon Vaiśampāyana came forward and said, "Lord, what's the necessity of putting those *Brāhmāṇas* of menagre strength to trouble? Please allow me to do it alone.", On this Vaiśampāyana flew into a rage and wishing not to have such a haughty disciple, asked him to return what he had learnt from him. Proud Yājñavalkya vomitted at once the gory hymns of the Yajurveda and departed therefrom without delay. The disciples of Vaiśampāyana took those hymns in the form of *Tittiri* birds and hence the name of the Saṃhitā. Then they relieved Vaiśampāyana of his great sin by performing due expiation.

Yājñavalkya on his return from the preceptor's house gave himself up to the worship of the sun. The sun pleased with his devotion appeared before him and asked him to take any boon he might wish for. "Bestow on me" said Yājñavalkya, "if you please, those hymns of the Yajurveda which are unknown to my preceptor." The sun then in the shape of a horse gave him the hymns known as *Ajātājāma* and so the student studying these hymns becomes known as Vājīn and the Saṃhitā as Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā.

the son of Vājasani composed the White Yajurveda and so this is called Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā after his name.

Sāyaṇācārya accounts truly for the name of these two Saṃhitās thus :—"Here and there in the Black Yajurveda we find the duties of the अश्वयुग् and those of the होतृ, spoken together. It is for this reason that the students of this Veda often get perplexed to make out the meaning of the text. As this darkens the intellect, so it is called the black or the impure Veda, while the other Saṃhitā explains the duties of the अश्वयुग् alone and so its reader does not find any difficulty to understand this Veda. Thus it is called the white or the pure Yajurveda."

Explanation of the black and white Yajurvedas given by Sāyana.

It is said in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka that Yajurveda is at the head of all other Vedas. The Yajurveda is the head of the *Puruṣa*, the Ṛgveda his right side, the Sāmaveda his left side, the Upaniṣads his life and the Atharvaveda his tail.

Position of the Yajurveda among other vedas

According to Śaunaka's *Caranavyūha* the Yajurveda had 86 śākhās or schools. But it gives the names of only 27 schools of the Black Yajurveda and 15 of the White Yajurveda. The Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions 27 Śākhās of the Black and 15 Śākhās of the White

Mahidhara too has taken this view of the purāṇas to be true. The Ānukramaṇi of Kātyāyana and the closing portion of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ support this view.

Different
schools of
the Yajur-
veda.

Yajurveda. ¹ The author of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* mentions the *Śākhās* of the Yajurveda to be more than a hundred. The *Caraka Śākhā* includes Caraka, Āhvarka, Kaṭha, Prācyakaṭha, Kapisthalakāṭha, Cārāyaniya, Vāratantaviya, Svetāśvatara, Aupamanyava, Pāta, Aindineya and Maitrāyaniya. The Maitrāyaniya Śākhā comprises Mānava, Vārāha, Dundubha, Chāgalya, Śyāma, Śyāmāyaniya and Hāridraviya. Hāridrava, Āsura, Gārgya, Śārkarākṣa and Āgrasaviya are the sub-Śākhās of Hāridraviya Śākhā. Oukhiya and Khāndikiya Śākhās have come of Taittriya Śākhā. From Khāndikiya sub-Śākhā originated Kāleya, Sātyāyani, Hiraṇyakeśi, Bhāradvājī and Āpastambī. The Carāṇavyūha published in the *Śabdakalpadruma* has two other Śākhās—the Baudhāyanī and Satyāśādhi. If we exclude the five sub-Śākhās of Hāridraviya Śākhā the S'ākhās of the Black Yajurveda amount to 27. But the *Samhitās* of the four Śākhās (Ātreya, Kāṭhaka, Āpastambīya, and Haridraviya) of the Black Yajurveda are only found.

1

एक षासीद यजुर्वेदस्य चतुर्धा व्यकल्पयत् ।
चतुर्होतमभूद यस्मिन्नेन यज्ञमयाकरोत् ॥
यजुर्वेदतरोः शाखा सप्तविंश महामतिः ।
वेश्मपायणनामासौ व्यासशिष्ययकार वै ॥
शिवेभ्यः प्रददौ तां जगद्गुप्तेऽप्यनुकमात् ॥
शाखानेदानु तेषां वै दशपञ्च च वाजिनां ।
काषाद्यान्तु भर्ताभाग, याज्ञवल्क्य-प्रवर्त्तिताः ॥
विष्णुपुराण—३।५।

The Caranavyūha mentions 16 Śākhās of the white Yajurveda. These are Jāvālī, Baudheyā, Kāṇvī, Mādhyandinī, Sāpheyā, Tāpanīya, Kāpālī, Paundravatsī Āvatikī, Paramāvatikī, Pārāśariya, Vaincya, Ugheya, Gālavi, Vaijavi and Kātyāyānī. But the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas of Kāṇvī and Mādhyandinī Śākhās of the White Yajurveda are now extant.

Śākhās of the Yajurveda according to Caranavyūha

The Kāṭha with its subdivision, the Kapiṣṭhala, was once current in the Puñjab and Kaśmīr. The latter has disappeared altogether, whereas, the former is still in use in Kaśmīr. This is probably the oldest Śākhā of the Yajurveda. The Kalāpa or the Maitrayaṇī Śākhā spread on the south of the Vindhya range. It was once current in the Mahārāṣṭra. The adherents of these two schools with their subdivisions were known as *Carakādhvaryus*.

Countries where the Kalāpa and Kapiṣṭhala are followed.

The Taittirīya school with its subdivisions the Āpastamba and the Hiranyakesī, was current in southern India and is still followed in the Godāvarī districts. Its rival branch, the Vājasaneyā Śākhās viz. the Mādhyandinī and the Kāṇvī were first introduced in Videha. It spread gradually over the north, the east and the west of India. Most of the Yajurvedīya Brahmanas of Bengal belong to the Kāṇva Śākhā.

Āpastamba and Hiranyakesī—where followed?

General
Divisions
of the
Yajurveda.

The Saṃhitā of the Black Yajurveda is divided into 7 Aṣṭakas, 44 Prasnas, 651 Anuvākas and 2198 Kāṇḍikās, while that of the White Yajurveda has 40 chapters, 303 Anuvākas (some of which are mere repetitions) and 1915 Kāṇḍikās.

The worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu appears to have become prominent during the time of this Veda. A great change also seems to come upon the religion of the time.. In the Rgveda the gods are asked to bless man and simple and sincere prayers are offered to them, while in the Yajurveda gods are forced to give their blessings by means of ceremonials. Thus it seems that the simple and sincere prayers of the Rgvedic time are at an end and gods are now forced to give wished-for object to the worshippers. Further here we come across many formulas to be recited for the purpose of obtaining victory, casting away evils or bringing down rain. That people believed in occult powers, miracles, magic &c, and held ascetism in high esteem, is also clear from a study of this Veda.

Tantra Literature.

The *Tantra literature*, full of worship and sacrifices which can be done in an easy and simple way, flourished perhaps during this period. This branch of science has not

The religion
of the Yajur-
veda and
how it
differs from
that of the
Rgveda.

Tantra and
Sir John
Woodroffe.

as yet engaged the attention of the Western scholars, excepting Sir John Woodroffe, the late justice of the High Court, Calcutta, who devoted himself arduously to a study of this Subject. His *Śakti* and *Śikta* and his admirable translation of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* bear ample testimony to his assiduity and scholarship. We give below a short account of this Literature.

Tantra literature is very old. It is also recognised as a Śruti. Śruties are of two kinds 1—Vedic and Tāntric. The former evidently refers to the Vedas, Brāhm: ३, Aranya-
kas and Upaniṣads, while the latter to the Āgamas. Both the Vedas and the Āgamas are said to have come from Mahādeva. 2 Five streams of spiritual scriptures flowed from the five mouths of Mahādeva and they inundated the world with their nectarine juice. These five are the Vedas, the Āgamas, the Jāmālas, the Tantras and the Dāmaras. The word Nigama is applied to that branch of Tantra in which Pārvati gives answers to Mahādeva's query. 3

Time of
Tantra.

It is also
acknowledged
as Śruti-
its origin
and divisions

1. यतिश्च द्विविधा षेडिकी तान्त्रिकोच—कुल्लुक (on Manu II.2)
2. “यस्य निश्चितं वेदा योवेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत् ।
निर्गमे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीथं महेश्वरम् ॥” सद्यण
“भागतं शिववक्त्रेभ्यो गतं च गिरिजायुतौ ।
मतं च वासुदेवस्य तेनागम इति स्मृतम् ॥”
3. “निर्गतं गिरिजावक्त्रात् गतं शिवमुखेषु यत् ।
मतं श्रीवासुदेवस्य निगमस्तेन कीर्तितः ॥”

Meaning of
Tantras and
Āgamas etc.

The dicta of all the four Vedas are Vedic Śrutis, while those of Āgama, Jāmala, Dāmara and Nigama are Tantric Śrutis. The Kālikāgama defines Tantra in the following manner. The treatises that are fraught with great meaning, comprise तन्त्र and मन्त्र and make one cross this *ocean of earth*, are termed Tantras. ¹ The following divisions of Tantras are found in the Vārāhi Tantra. There are three sorts of Āgamas and the fourth sort is known as Aisvara. ² The four broad divisions of these treatises are—the Āgamas, the Jāmalas, the Dāmaras and the Tantras in four Kalpas. Each of these Sāstras again is divided in various ways ³ The Mahānirvāna Tantra speaks of these varieties thus—

“चतुःषष्टौश्च तन्त्राणि यामलादौनि पार्वति ।

सफलानीह वाराहे विष्णुकान्तासु भूमिषु ॥

कल्पभेदेन तन्त्राणि कथितानीह यानि च ।

पाषण्डमोहनायैव विफलानीह सुन्दरि ॥

The sixty four Tantras with Yamalas at their head are efficacious only in the Varāha Kalpa in this world. The other Tantras enumerated there for different Kalpas will not

1. “तनीति विपुलानर्थान् तन्त्रमन्त्रसमन्वितान् ।

ताणञ्च कुरुते यस्मात्तन्त्रमित्यभिधीयते ॥”

2. आगमं विविधं प्रोक्तं चतुर्यमैश्वरं स्मृतम् ।

3. कल्पचतुर्विधः प्रोक्तः आगमो जामलस्तथा ।

डामरस्य तथा तन्त्रं तेषां भेदाः प्रथक् पृथक् ॥

yield any fruit as they are meant only to fascinate those who have gone astray.

It is also stated in the aforesaid Tantra that as Vedic rites are not efficacious in *Kali yuga*, *Āgama* is the only royal road to salvation. In days of yore S'ruti, Smṛiti, Purāṇa and other scriptures have been said by me to be followed by men in Yugas other than Kali, but in the *Kali yuga* man would follow the path of *Āgama* to attain wished-for objects in the shape of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and mokṣa.

The names of about one hundred and fifty tantras are found. Besides these there are about a hundred Upatantras composed by Jaimini, Vasiṣṭha, Nārada, Kapila, Bhārgava, Yājñavalkya, Bhṛgu, Śukra, Bṛhaspati, Garga and others. There is also a number of Bauddha Tantras. In Tibet, these are collectively called *Rgyug* including more than 2600 tantras. Nāgārjun was one of the Bauddha Tantrics. He gave himself up to severe penances and his attempts were crowned with success. The vast experience and success he attained to were recorded in a book which came to the hands of a Buddhist monk after his death. The book is styled "Siddha Nāgīājuna Kakṣaputra" as it was kept always under his armpit. In physical science too he had great knowledge and there are many Āyurvedic medicines which go after his name. Unfortunately this valuable book has not come within the purview of any Indian Paṇḍit.

Why are
Tantras
followed in
the Kali ?

Number of
Tantras and
Upatantras.

Tantra—a
source of
medicine.

Kṛṣṇānanda
Āgamavāgīśa
and Tantra
Sāra.

The famous Bengali Tāntric Paṇḍit. Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa has done a great service to Bengal, nay to the whole Tantric world, by compiling a treatise, "Tāntra Sāra" by name, which contains all important matters found in different Tantras, with apt quotations under different heads. This book is perhaps 500 years old.

Different
way of
classification
of Tantras.

Tantras may again be classified under the heads **आस्तिक** or Vedic Tantras and **नास्तिक** or Non-Vedic Tantras. The former falls under five heads in as much as they inculcate the worship of Siva, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śakti and Agni. The Tantras like philosophies preach the doctrines of monism, dualism and qualified monism.

Doctrine of
different
tantras.

S'ākta Tantras generally preach monism. S'akti is supposed to be the sole cause of the universe. This world is nothing but her manifestation. S'aiva Tantras preach both monism and dualism. The Vaiṣṇava Tantras are mainly of dualistic character.

Siddha
Vidyās--their
place in the
religious
world.

Of the ten S'aktis * Kālī, Tārā and Ṣoḍaśī are the chief. The last one is otherwise known as **अवदा, अम्बिका, शारदा, यो, निया, विद्या, महालक्ष्मी** etc. The worship of **श्रीविद्या** is found

* काली तारा महाविद्या षोडशी भुवनेश्वरी
भैरवी विद्वन्मन्त्रा विद्या ध्यावती तथा ।
वगला सिद्धविद्या च मातङ्गी कमलाम्बिका
एता दशमहाविद्याः सिद्धविद्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

in details in त्रिपुरोपनिषद्, शारदातिलक, परशुराम
कल्पसूत्र, श्रीक्रम, कामकलाविलास, सेतुबन्ध and
other scriptures. Gandharva Tantra takes श्रीविद्या
as absolute Brahma, the fundamental and
instrumental cause of the universe. The
Mahānirvāṇa Tantra speaks of Mahādeva as
the cause of the universe and says that His
knowledge brings about emancipation.

Tāntric Upāsana in some form or other is
found all over India. It spread greatly in
Bengal and Kāśmīra. To be accurate Kāśmīra
is the cradle of S'aiva, S'akta and Vaiṣṇava
Tantras. Of the Tantras that inculcate the
worship of Mahādeva, the Mahānirvāṇa is the
chief. This, in our opinion, is the best of all the
Tantras. Of those inculcating the worship of
Kālī, the Kālikā Tantra, the Mahākāla
Saṃhitā and śyāmā Rahasyam are important.
The Tārā Kalpalatā Paddhati and Tāra Bhakti
Sudhāṃṇava deal with the adoration of Tārā.
Of the Vaiṣṇava Tantras, Krama Dīpikā,
Rādhā Tantra and Kṛṣṇa Yāmala are impor-
tant. Tāntric Upāsana more or less corresponds
to the ब्रह्मोपासना of the Vedānta.

Tāntric
Upāsana is
akin to
Brahmopā-
sana.

There are three orders of Tāntrics accor-
ding to the degree of knowledge they acquire
corresponding to the four stages of life in the
Vedic institution. These are known respectively
as the state of a *Paśu*, the *Vira* and the
Kula. The first is the stage of continence

The stages
of
Tāntric life.

corresponding to the state of ब्रह्मचर्य. The second corresponds to गार्हस्थ्य, where the साधक has to test his control over senses and steadiness by observing the vow of पञ्चमकार ¹ The third is the state of कुल corresponding to the state of वानप्रस्थ and भिक्षु combined. Of all the preceptors from whom मन्त्र can be taken, a कौल is the best².

Names of
different
Tantras fol-
lowed in
different
countries.

In Bengal Kulaṇḍava, Kubjikā; Tārā Rahasya, Śyamā Rahasya, Sārādā Tilaka, Sāktānanda Tarāṅgini, Mahānirvāna and Prāntoṣini Tantras are taken in high esteem. In Southern and Western India Mantra Mahodadhī, Mantra Mahāṇḍava and Mantra Muktabali are highly respected. In Kāśmīra though all sorts of tantras flourished there, the S'aiva had its ascendancy. The S'aiva Tantras are founded on Śaiva philosophy. The Śiva Sūtra is the fundamental treatise of these tantras, others are but accessories to it. Spandāmṛta, S'ivadr̥ṣṭi, Mālinivijay Vārttic, Pratyabhijñā Vimarsini and Tantrāloka are important works on the subject.

Our heartfelt thanks are due to Sj. Rasik mohan Chottopaddhyaya of Butani, Dacca, who overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, succeeded in publishing a great number of Tantras together with the Tantra Sāra of of Sj. Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamvāgīśa along with some other rare books on Astronomy, Astrology and ritualistic treatises.

1. नद्यं मासं च मत्स्यञ्च मुद्रा सौख्यं नमेव च ।

2. पशोर्यक्तुल्लभ्यमन्त्रः पशुरिव न संशयः ।

वीराल्लभ्यमनुर्वारः कौलाश्च ब्रह्मविद्वत् भवे ॥

CHAPTER III

THE ATHARVA-VEDA

We have already pointed out why Atharva-veda was not included in the term ऋग्वेद. Though some portions of this Veda seem to be very old, a great deal of it is undoubtedly of latter origin. According to Mr. Roth a third of this Veda, while in the opinion of Mr Whitney a sixth of it, has been taken from the tenth Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda. This perhaps, was taken to be the fourth Veda after the composition of the Śatapatha Brahman. Some Atharvan Slokāś appear to have been prevalent in ancient Vedic India and these were used in sacrifices and other rites intended to do away with evils. Most of the hymns of this Veda are meant to secure temporal welfare, while those of the other three Vedas have mainly, a spiritual significance. About a sixth part of this Veda including the two entire Kāṇḍas 15 and 16, is composed in prose.

Atharva
Veda—its
source.

The oldest name of the fourth Veda is Atharvāṅgīraśa. The term Atharva and its derivatives are employed throughout the literature. It consists of two component parts—Atharva and Āṅgīraśa. The first refers to the auspicious practices—the *bheṣajāni* and the *śānti*

Names of
the Athar-
va Veda
and their
explanations.

and *paṇṣtika* rituals; while the last to the hostile sorcery and the *jātu* or *abhiṣār*. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇ explains this double character of the Atharva Veda very plainly and familiarly. Two other designations of the Atharva Veda differ greatly from the preceding ones being the product of a later literary age. These are known as *Bhṛgvāṅgīrasa* and *Brahma Veda*. The former is very popular in Atharvān ritual texts. The three terms, *Atharva*, *Āṅgīrasa* and *Bhṛgu* are almost synonymous concerned with the auspicious rites.

Social and political condition of India

There is abundant evidence to show that the Brāhmaṇas asserted themselves fully during the time of the Atharva Veda. They call themselves as *deva* and occupy a higher position in the society. The distinction between all the three upper classes and the aboriginal servitor class has advanced in the Atharva Veda, so the line is drawn sharply not only between the *Ārya* and *Dāsa*, but also between the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣātrīya* and *Vaiśya*.

The knowledge of Anatomy, human and animal, has advanced, though not quite so far as in the Brāhmanical account of the *Asvamedha* and *Puruṣamedha* sacrifices.

Many ancient prayers were remodelled here to accord better with the religion of the time.

Position of
Brāhmaṇa
and other
castes.

Knowledge
of
Anatomy.

Prayers.

The prayers of the Grhya Sūtras are either woven into the account of the practices themselves or they are preserved as separate collections.

The Saṃhitā of the Atharva Veda is broader in scope than that of the R̥gveda. It deals with the subject matter of the family books and is supplemented by Kalpa Sūtras. The life of the average Āryas from the cradle to the funeral fire is depicted here more freely and comprehensively than in the other Vedas. The variety of practices and beliefs connected with hearth and home, field and cattle, love and marriage, trade and village politics, is far far greater here than in the other Vedas.

Atharva
Veda—its
nature and
scope.

The medical charms and the herbs mentioned here for the cure of various diseases show that the Aryans had a fairly good knowledge of the science of medicine.

Medicine,

The royal rights, the women's rights, influence in the village assembly, the charms to secure harmony and the like, though not wholly absent in the R̥gveda, are characteristically Ātharvanic. Sacraments are described here fully and systematically, while other matters only incidentally.

Rights and
privileges
of people.

The geographical data of the Atharva Veda, specially the mention of the rivers Jamunā and Bāraṇāvati and the regions of the Aṅgas and Magadhas point to the fact that in the times of the Atharva Veda, the Indo-Aryans were

Extension
of
civilisati

acquainted with India enough far to the east and to the south-east. Their familiarity with the tiger also points to the same conclusion.

The Position of the Atharva-veda in Hindu Literature in General.

The Atharva-veda is a sacred text in more than one way: it not only shares materials in common with the other Vedas, but also contains hymns which are highly theosophic and philosophical. Everything dealt with here has a beneficial aspect.

The R̥gveda has no specific designation for Atharvan charms. It is doubtless that sorcery and house-practices were in vogue in India at all times. The silence of the R̥gveda on these is due perhaps to the scantiness of its opportunities to mention the n as it was mainly engaged with the praises to the gods in connection with Soma sacrifices. So there is no proof that the R̥gveda excluded things entitled to the name of Atharva charms.

The Atharva Veda alludes to its own class of compositions very rarely.¹ The word Atharva appears to mean 'slayers of Rakṣasas', while Angirah is connected with sorcery and spells.

The Śrauta-texts, by their very nature, exclude direct interest in the systematic charms. Only such sorcery as is closely connected with the Śrauta performances obtains

I. A. V. 10. 7. 20; 11. 6. 14; 19. 22. 1; 19. 64. 5.

Atharva
charms etc.
in the
R̥gveda.

Atharva

Śrauta
Sūtras.

Brāhmaṇs
and the
Atharva
Veda.

expression there. Having regard to the subject matters of the other three Vedas it would be silly, on the part of a man, to pronounce that they are hostile to the Atharva Veda. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ (10. 5. 2. 20) speaks highly of those that are expert in sorcery. A careful examination of the position of the Atharva Veda in the Śruti would show that this Veda though beyond mainly the proper sphere of the greater concerns of Vedic religion, is considered still as a Veda proper within its own sphere. The promoters of this Veda, such as, Bhṛgu, Angirah and Atharva, attained the state of demi gods in course of time. When Śrauta texts instead of being occupied with sacrificial subject alone are drawn over such forms as Itihāsa, purāṇa, gāthā, nārāsaṃsī, upaniṣad and the like, the Atharva Veda is regularly included in the Vedic literature.

The position of the Atharva Veda in the Upaniṣads is just the same as it is in the Śruti in general. Upaniṣads

The Grhya sūtras themselves being Atharvanic have greater intimacy with this Veda and refer more frequently to its writings. Grhya Sūtras

Having a profound hold upon popular beliefs the Atharva Veda retains its position to a great measure in the *dharma* texts. Besides the Atharvanic priests being of inestimable Dharma Saṃhitās,

services to kings in times of calamity this Veda was held in high esteem by men in general.

The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata also recognise its authority as a Veda.

Epics.

The most remarkable part of the Atharvaveda deals with theological and medical subjects. This may safely be called a compendium of ancient medicine. Ayurveda is an

Medical Science.

upāṅga of the Atharvaveda and this came from the mouth of Brahmā. It was composed not by one person but by many. The portions of the Veda dealing with medicine record the history of its infancy. These are followed by the Caraka and Sūruta Saṃhitās which record the history of its maturity. From after the time of Vāgbhata this science was on the wane.

Some 6000 verses of the Atharvaveda have been divided into 20 Kāṇḍas, 38 Prapāṭhakas 90 Anuvākas and 760 Sūktas (Paryāya). The Caranavyūtha of Yajur Veda thus gives the divisions of the Vedas :—

General Division of the Atharvaveda.

ऋचां दशसहस्राणि, ऋचां पञ्चशतानि च ।
 ऋचां अशितिपादश्च तन् पारायणमुच्यते ॥
 अष्टौ सानसहस्राणि सानानि च चतुर्दश ।
 जह्यानि सरहस्यानि एष सानगणः स्मृतः ॥
 अष्टादशसहस्राणि सन्त्राज्ञणयोः सह ।
 यजुःपि यत् पठ्यते स यजुर्वेद उच्यते ॥
 द्वे सहस्रे शतान् नमन्ता वाजसनेयके ।

तावन्वाच्येन संख्यातं बालखिल्यं सशक्तिम् ।
ब्राह्मणस्य समाख्यातं प्रीतमानाच्चतुर्गुणम् ॥
हादशानां सहस्राणि संवाणां विशतानि च ।
गोपयं ब्राह्मणं वेदेऽप्यर्चये शतपाठकम् ॥

The Vishṇupurāṇa says that Kavandha learnt the Atharvaveda from Sumantu, the disciple of Vyāsa and this he taught to his two pupils Devadarsa and Pathya. Maudga, Brahmbali, Sauktāyani and Pippalāda were disciples of Devasadarṣa. Pathya's chief pupils were Jājali, Kumuda and Śaunaka. Śaunaka again had Babhru and Saindhavāyana as his disciples. The disciples of Babhru were termed Muñjakesa, while those of Saindhavāyana the Saindhavas. The Atharva Saṃhitā includes the five books—*Nakṣatrakalpa*, *Vaitānakalpa*, *Samhitakalpa*, *Āngirasakalpa* and *Śāntikalpa*. I

Śākhās of
the Athar-
va Veda.

Books of
the Atharva
veda.

- 1 अथर्ववेदः समुनिः सुमन्तुः स्मृतद्वयः ।
शिष्यामध्यापयानास कथन् सौऽपि तद्विद्वा ॥
कृत्वा तु देवदर्शय तथा पथ्याय दत्तवान् ॥
देवदर्शस्य शिष्यास्तु—सौहो ब्रह्मयलिस्तथा ।
शौकतायणिः पिप्पलादस्तथान्यो सुनिसत्तन ।
पथ्यस्यापि त्रयः शिष्याः कृता ये हिंज संहिताः ।
जाजलि कुमुदादिय तृतीयः शौनको द्विजः ॥
शौनकान्तु द्विधा कृत्वा ददाविकां तु वषवे ।
सैन्धवमुञ्जकेशाय भिन्नावेदा द्विधा पुनः ।
नक्षत्रकाल्यो वेदानां संहितानां तथैव च ॥
चतुर्थः स्यादाङ्गिरसः शान्तिकाल्यश्च पञ्चमः ॥
ये षष्ठयर्चयामेते संहितानां विकल्पकाः ॥

विष्णुपुराण—३।६ ।

Sākhās
of the
Atharvaveda
acc. to
Carapa
vyūha.

According to Carapa vyūha Paippala, Saunaka, Dānta, Taita, Jāvālā, Brahmapalasa, Pradantā, Devadarśi and Cāraṇavidya are the nine Sākhās of the Atharvaveda. At present two Sākhās, the Saunaka and Paippala are only found. Paippala Sākhā is followed only in Kāśmīra.

Bhāgavat
Purāṇa.

The Bhāgavatapurāṇa gives the following account of the Atharvaveda. We get here the mention of Śauklāyani and Madoṣa instead of S'auktāyani and Maudga.

अथर्ववित् सुमन्त्रय शिष्यामध्यापयत् स्वकाम् ।
संहितां सोऽपि पथ्याय देवदर्शाय चोक्तवान् ॥
शौक्लायणि ब्रह्मलि सौदीपः पिप्पलायनिः ।
देवदर्शस्य शिष्यास्तैः पथ्यशिक्षानय गृण ॥
कुमुदः शुनको बल्लन् । जाजलियाप्यध्वं वित् ।
बभ्रु शिष्योयाज्ञिरसः सैन्धवायन एव च ।
अधीदेतो संहिते द्वे सावर्णात् या तथापरि ।
नक्षत्रकल्पः शान्तिश्च कश्यपाज्ञिरसादयः ।
एते षाडश्याचार्या.....भाग—१२।७।

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE VEDAS.

Principal
periods of
Vedic litera-
ture.

According to Prof. Max Müller the Vedic literature falls into four principal periods —“the Chandah (2) the Mantra, (3) the Brāhmaṇ and (4) the Sūtra periods. The Sutra period is the transitional stage between the Vedic and Classical literature.

Śruti and
Smṛti

Another division of the Vedic works is the (1) S'rutis and the Smṛtis. The former includes

CONCLUDING REMARKS

15

the Mantra and Brāhmaṇs and the latter the Sūtra literatures and Dharma Saṃhitās or law books, which are mostly founded on the Sūtras. The smṛti is dependent on the S'ruits.

The Chandah period has but little works. The chanda period witnessed the composition of only one work, though it was a great one, the Rgveda. Prof. Max Müller holds that this period covers 1200 to 1000 B. C.

Chandah period.

The chronological limit of the Mantra period as assigned by Prof. Max Müller is between 800 and 1000 B. C. In this period the Saṃhitās of all the Vedas were composed.

Mantra period.

The Brāhmaṇs partly bear on the sacred hymns of the Vedas and partly on the traditions and customs of the people. They are really commentaries on the Vedas and explain the performance of sacrificial ceremonies. The Brāhmaṇs consist mainly of two parts—Vidhi and Arthavāda. According to the orthodox view of the Hindus, the Veda consists of two parts—the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇs. The teachers of the Vedas have defined clearly these two portions and thus there is no possibility of their being confused with each other. The portions of the Vedas designated as Itihāsa, Puraṇas, Kalpas, Gāthās etc. are nothing but the subdivisions of the Brahmana.

Brāhmaṇs —their nature and divisions.

[Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇs.

The Saṃhitās of different Sākhās are only different recensions of the same original collec.

Brāhmaṇas
of different
Vedas.

tions of hymns and so their Brahmanas are also different editions of the same common original. Originally each Veda had but one Brahman. The R̥gveda had Brāhmaṇas of the Bahv̥rcas, the Sāmveda those of the Chāndogyaś, the Yajurveda those of the Taittirīyas and S'atapatha, and the Atharvaveda those of the Gopatha.

Cāraṇas.

The community of Brahmanas reading the same Veda is called *Carana*. It was the Brāhmaṇas alone who could enter a *Carana*. The most learned and the intelligent members of the *Carana* became the teachers and students from different quarters would flock to them to learn Vedic knowledge. In course of time new *Caranas* being established in different parts of the country, the members of *Caranas* were largely increased. Besides *Caranas*, there was the *Parīṣat*. The distinction between *Caranas* and *Parīṣat* was that the members of different *Caranas* might be the members of one and the same *Parīṣat*, whereas, each *Carana* had its respective distinct members. In a *Parīṣat* discussions on the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas were generally held. This was free from social envy, struggle and difference. A *Parīṣat* has thus been defined by बृहस्पति and पराशर :—

लोकवेदाङ्गधर्मज्ञाः सप्त पञ्च त्रयोऽपि वा ।
यद्यपि विष्टा विप्रास्तुः सा यज्ञसदृशौ सभा ॥

Distinction
between
Carana and
Parīṣat.

For further particulars of this see Manu 12, 160-13 and Yainavalkya 1.9.

The oral instructions of the students of the Vedic teachers were S'ākhas or schools. And thus we find differences in the different recensions of the different schools.

Sākhas.

We shall speak here a word or two on what the modern Indians have done for the furtherance of the study of the Vedic literature. In the first place we give the name of Rājā Rāmmohana Roy, the founder of the Brāhma Samāj, who translated a considerable number of Upaniṣads into English between 1816—1819 and published a few of these in Sanskrit. He intended to show that though the idolatry of the present Indian religion is objectionable, yet Indians should not embrace Christianity as they could find a pure religion in their Vedas and Upaniṣads. With this object in view he founded his new religious community and caused it to be propagated by means of this to the Christian theologians and missionaries.

Some Indian Scholars—their researches.

Rājā Rāma-mohan Roy.

The names of Reverend K. M. Banerjee, Rājendralāl Mitra, R. C. Dutta and Pt. Satyavrata Sāmasramī, deserve mention in this connection for their original researches in and publications of the Vedic literature. The Letters and Notices of Rajendralal Mitra with his Indo-Aryans and his editions of the Aitareya and Taittiriya Āraṇyakas, the Aryan wilness of Rev.

Rev. K. M. Banerjee and R. L. Mitra.

R.C. Dutt
 Satyavrata
 Sāmasramī.
 Bāla Gangā-
 dhar Tilak
 and Harā
 Prasad Śāstri

K. M. Banerjee, the translation of the R̥gveda by R. C. Dutt and translations and editions of various Vedic texts by Satyavrata Sāmasramī are, indeed monumental instances of modern Indian labour. Bāla Gangādhara Tilak's 'The Arctic Home in the Vedas', 'the Orion or the Antiquity of the Vedas', and 'the Vedic Chronology and Vedanga Jyotiḥ' are valuable works, not only for determining the age of the Veda but for making out the meanings of some obscure Vedic passages as well. Besides, thanks are also due to Profs. Haraprasād Śāstri, Avināśchandra Dās, Trailokyanāth Bhattācārya, Cārucandra Bandyopādhyā, and Pyāricaran Dās-Gupta and others who have written essays and books on the Vedas and allied subjects.

CHAPTER IV.

BRĀHMAṆS, UPANIṢADS AND ĀRAṆYAKAS.

The creative period which gave the Vedas to the world was followed by an epoch during which the intellect of the people embodied in the priesthood was engaged in sacrificial ceremonies. The priests wrote theological treatises in prose as well as in verse explaining the applications of the Vedic hymns and formulas in different sacrifices. These are important historically, but are quite useless as literary productions. They are grandiloquent, full of priestly conceit and antiquarian pedantry. The Brāhmaṇs chiefly explain the mutual relation of the sacred texts and the symbolical meanings of the ceremonies.

The
Brāhmaṇs.

Both in matter and form the Vedas are poetical, whereas, the Brāhmaṇs are written mostly in prose and are prosaic in character. The Vedic thoughts are natural and concrete but those of the Brāhmaṇs are artificial and speculative. The Vedas are important in point of mythology, while the Brāhmaṇs are necessary chiefly for the examination of rituals.

Vedas and
Brāhmaṇs
contrasted,

The treatises known as Āraṇyakas are nothing but supplements to the Brāhmaṇs. They often discuss topics of liturgical interest

Āraṇyakas.

requiring elucidation, though these do not form a part of their subject matter. The very style of the books betrays that they are of more recent origin than the *Saṃhitās*. The interval between the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas* is not very great. Vedic words and forms are much more frequently found in the *Āraṇyakas* than in the *Upaniṣads*.

Sāyanacārya has pointed out in his introduction to the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* that a householder has no right to study the *Āraṇyakas* but the first four chapters of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. The *Āraṇyakas* can be read only by those living in the *Vana-prasthāśrama*. *Āraṇyakas* are so called because they were studied by persons practising severe austerities in forests.

The treatises, the study of which conduces to knowledge, wisdom and salvation, are called *Upaniṣads*. The very term *Upaniṣad* means sitting near implying thereby to know God which is but self-realisation.

Like the *Brāhmaṇas* the *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads* are also included in the term *Śruti*. The *Mahābhārata* reckons the *Āraṇyakas* to be the pith of the Vedas, while the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says that the *Upaniṣad* is the vital essence of the *Yajurveda*.

According to the opinion of the veteran Vedic scholar Satyawrata Sāmsrami the

Who are eligible to read the *Āraṇyakas*.

Upaniṣad.

Brāhmaṇas etc. included in *Śruti*.

Upaniṣads may mainly be divided into four sections—Vaidika, Ārṣa, Kāvya and Kṛtrima. Theogonical thoughts found in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas proper constitute Vedic Upanishads. *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Taittirīya*, *Kauśītaki*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya* etc are included in this group. Those Upaniṣads that quote different texts of Vedic literature as authorities are called *Ārṣa* Upaniṣads. Māndukeya and some other Upaniṣads fall under this section. The treatises containing invocations to different deities worshipped by different communities, are called Epic. Upaniṣads. Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṃha, Rāma, Sarasvatī, Gaṇeśa etc. belong to this group. Some modern communities not finding any authoritative Upaniṣads to support their views composed some treatises which are known as artificial Upaniṣads. Nṛsiṃhatāpanī, Gopāla. Tāpanī etc., fall under this group. Besides, some scholars during epic period composed Upaniṣads to earn their livelihood, these were known accordingly as Jīvikopaniṣat.

Upaniṣads

Upaniṣad
and their
divisions.

1. THE BRĀHMANŚ ETC. OF THE ṚGVEDA.

Of the Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda the Aitareya, Kauśītaki or Sāmkhyāyana Brāhmaṇas are now extant.

Brāhmaṇas
of the
Ṛgveda.

The mention of the name of Paingi Brāhmaṇ in the commentary of Sāyaṇa shows that this Brāhmaṇ existed even in his time. To the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ belong the Aitareya Āraṇyaka and Aitareya Upaniṣad and to the Kauṣītakī or Sāṅkhyāyana Brāhmaṇ belong the Kauṣītakī Āraṇyaka and Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad. The Ātmaśatkopaniṣad, Vahvīca Brāhmaṇopaniṣad and Samhitopaniṣad also belong to the Aitareya School. The second and the third Āraṇyaka of the Aitareya is called Samhitopaniṣad, while the 4th, 5th, and the 6th. Chapters of its 2nd. Āraṇyaka are called Aitareyapaniṣad.

(1) The Aitareya Brāhmaṇ :—

The Aitareya
Brāhmaṇ--its
arrangement.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇ is divided into eight books (Pañjikās) each containing five lectures. These are subdivided into 285 kāṇḍas. The work is mostly written in verse and only partly in prose. The first 16 chapters treat of *soma sacrifice* called Agniṣṭoma lasting for one day. The next two chapters speak of Gavāmayana which last for 360 days. Chapters 19—24 treat of Dvādaśāha ; chapters 25—32 are connected with Agnihotra and the last eight chapters describe *Abhiṣeka* ceremony &c. The thirty eight chapters describe a supposed consecration of Indra and the fortieth chapter refers to the benefit of entertaining a *purohita*.

The longest and the most interesting legend found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ is the story of *Śunahśepha*. This forms the 3rd chapter of the seventh book. The tale runs as follows :—

Hariścandra, a descendant of the Ikṣvāku family, had no sons. Once in a mood of bitterness and sorrow he thus questioned the venerable sage Nārada who lived in his house, "Venerable sire, what's the good of having a son?" Nārada explained the necessity of having a son. Whereupon the king asked him how he could get a son. The sage advised him to worship Varuṇa and, to offer to that deity the son that should be born to him first. He accordingly began to worship Varuṇa who being pleased with his devotion blessed him with a child. After its very birth the deity appeared before the king and asked him to be true to his promise. The king put him off, telling him that he would do it after the expiry of *aśauca* and after the performance of some purificatory rites and so on. Then when the prince grew up and was ready to set out for the forest putting on his armour, the god Varuṇa appeared and asked the king to do his duty. The king explained to the prince how he had got him through the favour of the god and asked him to get ready for the offering. The prince de-

Story of
Śunahśepha.

clined and went to a forest, bow in hand. The deity being displeased cursed the king with a fell disease of the stomach and disappeared, when the prince, at the end of the year, returned to the kingdom. Indra in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa appeared before him and explained to him in kind words the good of wandering. Then he advised him to go to the forest again. This process was repeated six times. While going out in the sixth year of his wandering he met with the sage Ajigarta with his three sons Śunahsepha, Śunalāngula and Śunabpucchā, all worn-out with fasting. The prince offered a hundred cows for each of the sons. The sage agreed and gave him Śunahsepha his second son. Then the prince offered a hundred cows to the sage and appeared before the king with the sage and his sons and related to him in detail what had happened. The king asked Varuṇa if he was ready to take Śunahsepha as offering instead of his son. The god consented. Hariscandra that very day began to make preparations for a *Soma* sacrifice. Viśvāmitra was appointed to act as the hotā Jāmadagni as Addhvaryu, Vasistha as Brāhmaṇa and Āyāśya as Udgātā. Śunahsepha was brought before the sacrificial altar and there was none to bind him to the pole. Ajigarta at the time was ready to do the work if he could get another hundred cows.

Ajigarta
and his sons
Śunahse-
pha, Śuna-
lāngula
and Śuna-
pucchā.

This was granted to him and he did the work. The ceremonials in connection with the sacrifice being over, the services of an executioner were needed. The brutal father was ready to kill his son only for another hundred cows. Those being given to him, he appeared with a sword in hand before the sacrificial altar. The unfortunate son finding that his end was drawing nigh prayed to Prajāpati (1. 24. 21.) who asked him to seek the favour of the Fire god. Agni in his turn advised him to worship Savita who told him to take shelter under Varuṇa. Śunahṣepha then pleased Varuṇa with several hymns, and Varuṇa directed him to invoke Agni for his deliverance. Agni again asked him to praise Viśvedevās. The Viśvedevās, delighted with his prayers, referred him to Indra who gave him a golden car. Then Aśvins were invoked and at last the Dawn. Śunahṣepha was released from his bond and Hariscandra from his malady.

Śunahṣepha
and his
father.

Śunahṣe-
pha's prayers
to various
deities.

At the close of the sacrifice शुनःश्रेष्ठ went to the sage Vasiṣṭha, whereupon Ajigartha asked the sage to return his son to him. "The gods have given me your son" said Vasiṣṭha, "and so I cannot give him to you." शुनःश्रेष्ठ as an adopted son of Viśvāmitra got the name of Devarāta.

Śunahṣepha
was taken in
the family of
Viśvāmitra.

Then there followed an interesting dialogue between the son and his father and between शुनःश्रेष्ठ and Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra acknow-

Dialogue
between
Sunahsepha
and his
father and
Viśvāmitra.

ledged मुनःपुत्र as his eldest son. The first 50 sons of Viśvāmitra resented it and were cursed to be born as outcasts, but the remaining 50 acquiesced and took Sunahsepha as their eldest brother and they were blessed by their father.

Tale of
Sunahsepha
in the Epics
and in the
purāṇas.

The tale of Sunahsepha is narrated in its modified forms in the Rāmāyaṇa (1. 6. 61) Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana parvan), the Viśvupurāṇa (4. 7) and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (7.7 and 16.) The Mārkaṇḍeya and Padma purāṇas also relate the charming story of Haris- candra with special reference to his uncommon bounty, self-denial and dutifulness in contrast with sage Viśvāmitra's hardheartedness, selfishness and ruthlessness.

II. THE AITAREYA ĀRANYAKA AND UPANIṢAD.

Aitareya
Āranyaka
and Upa-
niṣad.

The Aitareya Āranyaka consists of 18 Chapters, distributed unequally into five books. The third book includes the Bahvrca Brāhmaṇ Upaniṣad or Aitareya Upaniṣad. This Upaniṣad describes the creation of the uni- verse by Brahmā.

The *first book* consisting of five chapters gives an explanation of Mahāvra- ta from a ritualistic and allegorical point of view. Besides, it describes different sastras which are cited during the morning, midday and eve-

ning libations of the Mahāvratā day of the Gavāmāyana sacrifice.

The *second book* having seven chapters is divided into two distinct parts. The first part comprising the first three chapters deals with the allegorical signification of the Uktha. It is not directly connected with book I. The second part is really a Upaniṣad and is full of spiritual speculations.

The *third book* comprising two chapters treats of mystic meaning of the various forms of the text of the Saṃhita—the *nirbhūja*, the *pratiṣṭhā* and *ubhayamantareṇa*—and of the vowels, semi vowels and consonants.

The *fourth book* consists entirely of Mahānāmni verses which according to Sāyaṇa are to be studied in the forest. Āsvalāyana in his Srauta Sūtra (vii. 12. 10) says that the Mahānāmni verses and certain puruṣapadas are to be used on the fifth day of the sacrifice.

The *fifth book* containing three chapters describes mainly the Niṣkevalya Sastra, the great Sastra of the midday libation of the Mahāvratā. It is believed that Āsvalāyana wrote this book. But according to Sāyaṇa it was written by Saunaka.

II Saṅkhyāna or Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa :—

This is divided into thirty chapters. It is named after its great teacher Kauṣītaka. It has the detailed descriptions of sacrifices des-

cribed in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ. It has not those matters described in the last ten chapters of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ. There is mention of the famous sacrifice of Naimiṣa in it. It speaks very often of the Ṛk, Yajus and Sāma Vedas. Kāśmīra was a famous seat of learning at the time of this Brāhmaṇ. Mahavrata Brāhmaṇ is a supplementary section of this Brāhmaṇ and describes Mahavrata rite—a ceremony which is performed on the eleventh day of the Gavāmayana sacrifice. It comprises two chapters.

IV. Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad :—

The latter portion of Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇ is Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka. It is divided into fifteen chapters. In some manuscripts it is seen that its four chapters (3—6) form the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad.

The Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad is attached to the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇ. The first four chapters of the Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka form the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad. It has 4 Chapters and 44 Kāṇḍas and has two interesting dialogues. The one is between Indra and Prātardan and the other is between Ajātasatru, king of Benares, and Valāki, a priest. The former treats of philosophy and the latter theology.

II. THE BRĀHMANAS ETC. OF THE SĀMAVEDA.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa says in his Tantravārttika that there are eight Brāhmaṇas of the Sāma-

Kauṣītaki
Āraṇyaka
and
Upaniṣad.

veda. Sāyanācārya in his introduction to the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇ has named them. These are Tā ḍya (Praudha, Mahā or Pañcaviṃśa), Shaḍviṃśa (a supplement to Tāṇḍya), Chāndogya, Jaiminiya or Tavalkāra, Sāmavidhāna, Devatādhyāya, Ārṣeya and Vaṃśa. The last four of the above eight Brāhmaṇs are nothing but the index of the Sāmaveda. These Brāhmaṇs are full of mystical speculations and are very important historically.

Brāhmaṇs
of the
Sāmaveda.

(I) THE TĀṆDYA BRĀHMAṆA—

The Brāhmaṇ of the Tāṇḍins are divided into 40 chapters. The first 25 chapters form the Tā ḍya or Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇ. The Shaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇ consists of the next 5 Chapters. The next 10 chapters are Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa. Its first two Chapters form Mantra Brāhmaṇa and next eight the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.

The Tāṇḍya
Brāhmaṇ.

The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇ prescribes Vrātya stomas or expiatory rites for Vrātyas or those failing to take the sacred thread at the appointed time—both primary and secondary. The sixth chapter of the Shaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇ is called Avadhūta Brāhmaṇ. This treats of various evil portents and thier remedies.

Subject
matter.

(ii) The Jaiminiya or Tavalkāra Brāhmaṇa treats of various ceremonials and contains the Kena Upaniṣad.

Jaiminiya
Brāhmaṇs.

(iii) The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇ explains the application of incantations for various superstitious purposes.

(iv) The Devatādhyāya, A'rṣeya and Vamśa Brāhmaṇs furnish us with the names of the dieties of the Sāmaveda, the names of the composer of Sāmaveda hymns, and a genealogical table of the teachers of the Sāmaveda respectively.

(III) *The Brāhmaṇs etc. of the Yajurveda :—*

(i) The Black Yajurveda.

The Brāhmaṇ of the Black Yajurveda, as has been said before, is incorporated in its Saṃhitā portion. These are the Brāhmaṇs of the Kāṭha and Maitrāyaṇi schools. A separate Brāhmaṇ known as the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇ belongs also to this Veda. To this Brāhmaṇ are attached the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka and Taittiriya and Mahā Nārāyaṇa or Yājñūki Upaniṣads divided into three books. The second chapter of the third book of the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇas explains the significance of the fire called Naciketā and upon this is founded the story of Naciketā and Yama in the Kāṭhopaniṣad. To Maitrāyaṇi Sāṃhitā belongs to Maitrāyaṇiya and Maitrī Upaniṣads.

(ii) The White Yajurveda.

The Mādhyandinī school of the White Yajur Veda has the famous Brāhmaṇa called

Brāhmaṇas
of the Black
Yajurveda.

the Satapatha Brāhmaṇ divided into 14 books and 100 chapters. The 10th. and 11th books prescribe rules and regulations for constructing sacrificial altars of various descriptions. The twelfth deals with expiations and the 5th with Asvamedha and Naramedha sacrifices. The last book forms its Āraṇyaka whereof the last six chapters are Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. It is very important from the historical point of view. It contains many interesting stories and legends. The famous story of the deluge is described here for the first time in Sanskrit literature. * This appea-

Brāhmaṇs
of the White
Yajurveda.

* A small quantity of water was brought before *Manu* for the washing of his hands and face. *Manu* found in it a small fish which entreated him to spare its life and promised in return to save him from danger. "How can you," asked *Manu*, "save me from danger?" "If you," replied the fish, "rear me up and cast me into the sea, when I shall become huge of size, I shall protect you during the ensuing great deluge," *Manu* reared it and cast it into the sea. Then came the great deluge and *Manu* complying with what the fish had told him made a boat and bound it to the horns of a fish that came by. The fish carried the boat beyond the *Himālayas* and asked him to fasten it to a neighbouring tree and subsequently to leave the boat as the waters subsided. This goes by the name of "*Descent of Manu from the Northern mountain.*" All living beings died and *Manu* gave himself up to the worship of God praying for another creation. The offerings of *Manu* cast into water produced a charming girl whom the *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* claimed as their daughter. She refusing went to *Manu* and declared herself on being

rs in the Mahābhārata also but in a modified form.

IV. *The Brāhmaṇs of the Atharvaveda.*

Brāhmaṇs
of the
Atharvaveda.

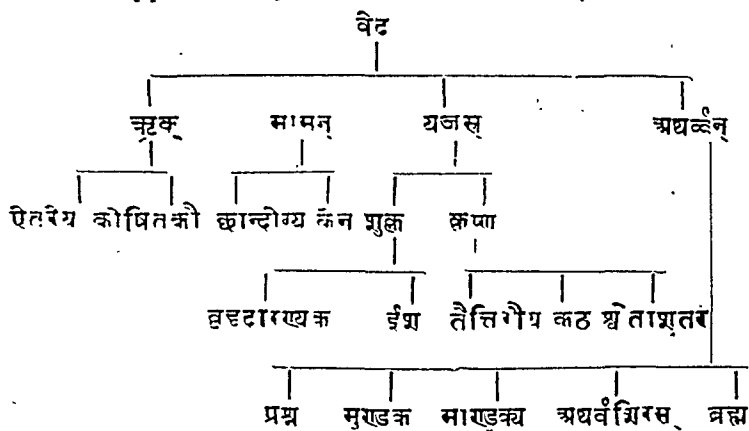
Of the Brāhmaṇs of the Atharvaveda the Gopatha Brāhmaṇ only is now known. It has principally been founded on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ and is divided into two books.

This Veda has some 52 Upaniṣads of which Muṇḍaka, Praśna, Atharvasīrah, Brahma, Māṇḍukya etc are famous.

We give below a table of the Vedas and their important Upaniṣads.

asked to be his daughter. Then she narrated to him the secret of her birth and said that she was the benefactress of his sacrificial offering. Being asked by her Manu engaged her as the middle of the sacrifice. It is for this reason that the blessings are asked between the beginning and the end of a sacrifice. Men are the sons of this Manu and this daughter is known as Ilā. This also describes the story of Pururavaḥ and Urvāṣī and that of Śakuntalā and her son Bharata. The former story traces its origin to the dialogue of the Ṛgveda. Kālidāsa the greatest of the Indian poets has taken these two tales as the burden of his two famous dramas, Vikramorvaśīyam and Śakuntalam.

Supplementary notes on the Brāhmāns &c.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE
BRĀHMĀNS &c.

Aitareya A'raṇyaka is divided into five sections. The 2nd and 3rd parts and specially the last four chapters of the 2nd part are called Aitareya Upaniṣad. The last Chapter of the Kauṣitakī Āraṇyaka is the Kauṣitakī Brāhmaṇopaniṣad.

Aitareya and
Kauṣitaku
Āraṇyakas.

The Chāndogya Brāhmaṇ has 10 and the Jaiminiya or Tavalakāra Brāhmaṇ has 9 chapters. The last eight Chapters of the Chāndogya Brāhmaṇ are called Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the 9th or the last chapter of the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇ is the Kena Upaniṣad.

Chāndogya
and
Tavalakāra
Brāhmaṇa.

The Seventh Chapter of the Taittiriya A'raṇyaka is called Śikṣhāvallī or Saṃhito-paniṣad. The eighth and ninth chapters are called respectively Ānandavallī and Bhṛgu-

Taittiriya
Āraṇyaka.

vallī. The two books are also styled Vāruṇī. The last or the 10th chapter is styled Nārāyaṇya or Yājñikī Upaniṣad. Āruṇika and Kāṭhaśruti Upaniṣads are supplements to the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. Mr. Bühler points out Maitrī Upaniṣad to be the second Kāṇḍa of Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.

The Vāja-
sanevī
Saṃhitā.

The Sixteenth Chapter of the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā is the Satarudrīa Upaniṣad. The 30th and 31st. Chapters are called Puruṣa Sūkta. The beginning of the 34th is Śivasamkalpa and the 40th. chapter is known as I'sa Upaniṣad. The last 6 Chapters of the 14th Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ are Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. The Jāvālopaniṣad is a supplement to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

The Upaniṣads may chiefly be divided into three sections according to their subject-matter.

Connection
of Jivā
with the
Supreme
Soul.

(i) Some Upaniṣads deal with the salvation of Jīva and the nature of the supreme soul. This section comprises Āitareya, Chāndogya, Kena, Taittirīya, I'sa. Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Kāṭha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍukya &c.

Relation of
Jīva and
Ātmā.

(ii) A number of A'tharvaṇika Upaniṣads points out that Jivātmā is one and the same with Paramātmā and that Jīva may realise it through mediation. When this is done Jīva gets salvation. Garbha, Ārṇika, Jāvāla, Kāṭhaśruti, A'runika, Sannyāsa S'ākalya, etc. fall under this head.

(iii) Under the 3rd head fall those Upaniṣads that according to the difference in different communities refer to different deities ; such as, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Rāma, Devī etc. etc. To this class belong the Sarasvatī, Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṃhatāpanī etc etc.

Epic Upaniṣads.

Muktikā Upaniṣad says that there are 10 Rgvedic, 16 Sāmavedic. 51 Yajurvedic (Black Yajur 32 and White 19) and 41 Ātharvaṇika Upaniṣads.

1. Upaniṣads of the Rgveda :—

Aitareya, Kauṣītaki Bavṛca, Nirvāṇa, Nāda vindu, A'tmaprabodha, Akṣamālikā, Mudgala, Saṃbhāgya and Tripura.

Rgvedic
Upaniṣads

2. Upaniṣads of the Sāmveda :—

Kena, Chāndogya, Āruṇi, Maitreyī. Maitrāyaṇī, Vajrasūci, Yogacūdāmaṇi, Vāsudeva, Sannyāsa, Mahā, Avyakta, Kuṇḍika, Sāvitrī, Rudrākṣa, Jāvāla and Jāvālī.

Sāmvedic
Upaniṣads

3. Upaniṣads of the Black Yajurveda :—

Taittiriya, Svetāvatara, Kaṭhavalī, Kaṭharudra, Brahma, Kaivalya, Garbha. Nārāyaṇa, Amṛtanāda, Amṛtavindu, Kālāgnirudra, Kṣurikā, Sarvasāra, S'ukarahasya, Tejovindu, Dhyānavindu, Brahmavidyā, Yogatattva, Dakṣināmūrtti, Skanda, S'ārīraka, Yogaśikṣā, Ekākṣarā, Akṣī, Avadhūta, Hṛdaya, Varāha, Pañcabrahma, Yogakuṇḍalīnī, Prāṇāgnihoṭra, Kalisantarāṇa and Sarasvatīrahasya.

Kṛṣṇa
Yajurvedic
Upaniṣads.

4. Upaniṣadas of the white Yajurveda :—

Śukla
Yajurvedic
Upaniṣads

Īśa, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Jāvāla Haṃsa, Parama haṃsa, Suvālā, Mantrikā Nirālamba Trisikhī, Tāraka, Paingala, Adhyātma, Bhilkṣu, Tārasāra, S'ātyāyana, Yājñavalkya, Turiyātita, Brāhmaṇamaṇḍala and Muktikā.

5. Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda :—

Parśna, Muṇḍaka, Māndukya, Atharvasiras, Atharvasikhā, Bṛhajjāvāla. Rāmatāpanī, Nṛsiṃhatāpanī, Gopālatāpanī, Tripurātāpanī. Jāvlā, Nārada, S'arabha, Sītā, Rāmarahasya, Devī, Kṛshṇa, Ga apati, Annapūrṇā, Paṣupata, Suryyātma, Gāruda, Sāndilya, Mahānārāyaṇa, Parivrājaka, Bhasma, Mahāvākya, Bhāvanā, Paramahaṃsa. Dattātreyā and Hayagriva.

Exercise I.

Q. 1. What criteria are there for distinguishing between the older and more recent parts of the Ṛk Saṃhita? About what time may the Saṃhita texts in its present form have been constituted? Indicate the nature and the use of the Pada text (Hons 1909. '23.)

2. What evidence have we for determining the home of the poets of the Ṛk Veda? (Hons. 1909.)

3. One passage of the Ṛk Veda in which the soul is spoken of as departing to the waters or the plants may contain the germ of the theory of transmigration. Give an account of the passage and the theory referred to (Hons. 1910)

4. Characterise the different periods of Vedic literature (Hons 1911.)

5. Discuss the different methods of interpretation which have been applied to the Veda. (Hons. 1911, 14, 23.)

6. Characterise special position of the Atharvaveda in Vedic literature (Hons. 1912, 1919, 1924.)

7. "The mythology of the Ṛkveda is sufficiently primitive to enable us to see clearly the process of personification by which natural phenomena developed into gods"—Explain and illustrate. (Hon 1912.)

8. Give an account of the works comprised under the term Yajurveda and of the special functions of the priests for whom that veda is meant. (Hons, 1913.)

9. What evidence is there to determine the date of the Ṛkveda Saṃhitā ? (Hons 1914.)

10. What are the main characteristics of the Vedic poetry ? (Hons 1914)

11. Give an account of the various books comprised under the term 'Sāmveda' (Hons' 1915)

12. Discuss the cosmogonic hymns of the Ṛk Veda and dwell on the characters as the precursors of Indian philosophy (Hons 1916, '23, '25)

13. Discuss 'The Yajurveda introduces to us not only the geographical area different from that of the Ṛk Veda but also to a new epoch of religion and social life in in India' (Hons, 1916)

14. Write a short essay on the state of Indian society in the age of Ṛk veda. (Hons, 1916.)

15. Fully discuss the grounds which led European

scholars to challenge the accuracy of the Sayan's interpretation of the Ṛk Veda (1917, '23)

16. Discuss—"By the acceptance of the doctrine of transmigration the vedic optimism which looked forward to a life of eternal happiness in heaven, was transformed into the gloomy prospect of an interminable series of miserable existences leading from one death to another" (1917.)

17. Write an essay in English or Sanskrit on the philosophy of the Ṛkveda (1918, '23)

18. Describe the characteristics and the functions attached to the following gods of the pantheon—Dauh, Varuna, Savitā, Rudra, and Vṛhaspati, (Hons. 1918.)

19. Mention briefly the contents of the Atharva veda (1919.)

20. Give a short account of the various recensions of the Yajurveda and state wherein the cult of the veda differs from the earlier phase of the Ṛkvedic religion. (1920)

21. Give a short account of the Sāmveda Saṃhitā. Hons. (1921).

22. Trace briefly the evolution of religious thoughts in the Ṛk veda. (Hons, 1925 '24.)

23. Make an estimate of the importance of the Atharvda so far as the history of civilisation is concerned. (1927.)

24. Write an essay on the deities of the Ṛk veda. (1928)

25. State the main points of difference between the Black and White Yajurveda. (1928.)

25. Give the Probable dates of the earlier and the later periods of the vedic literature with the distinct and the prominent character and local extent of each. (1929)

27. Name the most important Upaniṣads and give some details regarding one of them. To what period may the Upaniṣads as a body be referred and what criteria are there to distinguish between earlier and later Upaniṣads ? 1913.

28. Write an essay of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads with special reference with the idea of identity of the individual with the world soul. (1917.)

29. State what you know of the Upaniṣads. (1921).

30. Discuss the part played by Brāhmaṇa, Araṇyaka, and Upaniṣad (carefully explaining these terms in general history of speculative thoughts) (1923.)

31. What is the general character of the Brahman of the R̥kveda ? (1927).

32. In what departments of literature did prose attain development ? (1927).

CHAPTER IV

SŪTRA LITERATURE

The Sūtra period according to most Western scholars extends from 600 to 200 B. C. During this period the Vedāṅgas, Anukramaṇīs. &c., were composed.

During the Brāhmaṇ period the ceremonials, &c., became so numerous and complex that it was very difficult for the priests to get by heart portions of Brāhmaṇs that described them. There arose therefore the necessity of short treatises dealing systematically and clearly with these things. And so the *Kalpa Sūtras* came to be written. These are written in prose so terse and sententious at the same time that anything like, is hardly to be found in any other literature.¹ The *Kalpa Sūtra* consists of three parts—(i) the *Śrauta Sūtra*, (ii) The *Gṛhya Sūtra* and (iii) the *Dharma Sūtra*. These three sūtras formed originally one book but in course of time they were split up into three distinct books. The Śrauta Sūtras prescribe sacrifices found directly in the Vedas. The performance of these sacrifices requires the help of officiating priests.

1. There is a proverbial saying among the pundits that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son."

The Gṛhya Sūtras explain the rites to be performed by a Gṛhi and these do not require the help of the sacrificial priests but are performed by the householder himself or his *pu-rolit*. The Dharma Sūtras are the ancient law books and they lay down the rules of conduct, the duty of all the four āśramas and deal with atonement, government, &c.

Gṛhya
Sūtras, and
Dharma
sūtras

The latter has many commentaries, some of these are running commentaries and others liturgical ones called Prayogavṛtti. The most popular commentary is by Traividya Vṛddha and Tālabrintanivasi, but his proper name has now been found to be Keśava. Many Rgvedins perform their rites in accordance with the Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba, and Baudhāyana, none of whom belong to the Rgveda. The followers of Āsvalāyana school are numerous but those of Sāṃkhāyana schools are small in number. The school of Śaunaka merged itself into that of his pupil, Asvalāyana.

Rgvedic
Śrauta
Sūtras.

The Sūtras like the Vedas are not अपौरुषेय but are human compositions. Immense is their value from the historical stand point also. Their study makes us acquainted with the manners, laws, rites and customs of the time.

Sūtras are
human
compositions.

Thus in the Śrauta Sūtras the Indo-Aryans appear as vedic sacrificers, in the Dharma Sūtras they appear as citizens and in the Gṛhya Sūtras they are stubborn house-holders adhering to their prescribed rites.

Condition
of people
during the
Sūtra period.

Dharma
Śāstras.

It would not be out of place to mention here that Kalpa Sūtras being very meagre and insufficient for practical purposes Dharma Śāstras in metrical forms were composed for the guidance of kings and ministers and people in general as well.

Śraūta
Sūtras of the
Ṛgveda.

The Ṛgveda has two Śrauta Sūtras corresponding to the two Caraṇas, the Sāṃkhyāyanas and the A'svalāyanas. The Sāṃkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra is connected with the Sāṃkhyāyana Brāhmaṇ. This is divided into eighteen books. The A'svalāyana Śrauta Sūtra consisting of twelve books is related to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ.

Gr̥hya Sūtras
of the
Ṛgveda.

To this Veda belong the Sāṃkhyāyana and Sāmbhavya Gr̥hya Sūtras connected with the school of the Kauśitakins and the Āsvalāyana Gr̥hya sūtras belonging to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇ. To the Kalpa Sūtra of the Ṛgveda belongs the Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra.

Śraūta Sū-
tras of the
Sāmaveda.

Of the Śrauta Sūtras of the Sāmaveda three are now extant. These are the Śrauta Sūtras of *Maśāka* also called *A'rsheyakalpa* and *Lātyāyana* connected with the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇ and the Śrauta Sūtras of Drāhyāyana. The first two belong to the Kauthuma school and the last one to the Rāṇāyaniya Śākhā. The Gr̥hya Sūtra of Gobhila and that of Khadira belong to this Veda. To this Veda also belongs the Gautamīya Dharma Sūtra.

Gr̥hya Sūtra
of the
Sāmaveda &
its Dharma
Sūtra.

There are some six Śrauta Sūtras of the Black Yajurveda.

(i) The Śrauta Sūtra of A'pastamba ; (ii) the Śrauta Sūtra of Hiraṇyakeśi ; (iii) The Śrauta Sūtra of Baudhāyana ; (iv) The Śrauta Sūtra of Bharadvāja ; (v) The Mānava Śrauta Sūtra (vi) and the Vaikhānasa Śrauta Sūtra. Of these only two have been published.

Śrauta Sū-
tras of
Black
Yajurveda.

The Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra forms the first 24 of the 30 chapters into which the Kalpa Sūtra is divided. The Hiraṇyakeśi is an offshoot of the A'pastambas and forms the first eighteen of the 29 chapters of the Kalpa Sūtra. The Mānava Śrauta Sūtra is connected with the Maitrāyanī Saṃhitā.

Āpastamba,
Hiraṇyakeśi
and Mānava
Śrauta
Sūtras.

There are seven corresponding Gṛhya sūtras of the black Yajurveda, of which only three have been published.

Gṛhya Sū-
tras of Black
Yajurveda.

The 26th and the 27th books of the Āpastamba Kalpa Sūtra are the *A'pastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*. The 26th book is the Mantrapāṭha.

Āpastamba:
Gṛhya Sūtra.

The 19th and the 20th books of the Hiraṇyakeśi Kalpa Sūtra forms the Gṛhya sūtra of the Hiraṇyakeśins.

Hiraṇyakeśi'
Gṛhya Sūtra.

Of the Baudhāyana's and Bharadvāja's Gṛhya Sūtras little is known. The Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra is but a repetition of the Mānava Śrauta Sūtra. The Vaikhānasa Gṛhya Sūtra is an extensive work. Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra belongs to the Black Yajurveda.

Baudhāyana,
Bhāradvāja,
Mānava and
Vaikhānasa
Gṛhya
Sūtras.

Kātyāyana
Śrauta
Sūtra of the
white Yajur-
veda.}

The Śrauta Sūtra of Kātyāyana belongs to the White Yajurveda. This is divided into 26 chapters and is similar to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ in respect of its arrangement. Though belonging to the Yajurveda it describes strangely the ceremonials of the Sāmaveda in its three chapters (xxii—xxiv)

Pāraskara
Gr̥hya Sūtra
of the
white
Yajurveda.

Pāraskara is the Gr̥hya sūtra of the White Yajurveda. This is also called Kātiya or Vājasaneyi Gr̥hya Sūtra and is connected closely with Kātyāyana Śrauta sūtra. Yājñavalkya's Dharma Śāstra was much influenced by the work of Pāraskara.

Vaitāna
Sūtra of
the Atharva
veda..

The Vaitāna Sūtra belongs to the Atharva Veda and is connected with the Gopatha Brāhmaṇ. The Sūtra of Kātyāyana exercised much influence over it. It has the important Kausika Gr̥hya Sūtra. This not only prescribes rules for rituals but also presents a vivid picture of the life of the Vedic Indians.

Number of
Śrauta rites

The Śrauta rites are fourteen in number and are divided principally into two equal groups. The first group comprises seven *Havih* sacrifices and the 2nd group seven *Soma* sacrifices.

The seven *Havih* sacrifices are :—

Havih
Sacrifices.

अग्न्याधानम्, अग्निहोतृम्, दर्शपूर्णमासौ, चातुर्मास्यानि,
आग्रयणेष्टि, निरुदपशुबन्ध and सौत्तमणि ।

The seven *Soma* sacrifices are :—

Soma Sac-
rifices.

अग्निष्टोम, अत्यग्निष्टोम, उक्थ्यः, षोडशौ, वाजपेयः,
अतिरात्रः and आप्नोर्यामः ।

(i) अग्नाधानम् is the ceremony of consecrating fire and placing it to its proper place.

Agnya-
dhāna.

(ii) अग्निहोत्रं is the maintenance of the sacred fire and offering of oblations of milk, sour gruel &c. into it both in the morning and in the evening. No priest is required for this. This is of two kinds—नित्य or constant obligation and काम्य or occasional rites.

Agnihotra.

(iii) दर्शपूर्णमास are sacrifices to be done in the new and the full moon by the help of priests. These are not so grand as the Soma sacrifices. दर्श and पूर्णमास do not refer here to the new and full-moon, but by transference of epithet to the two days immediately following them. These are विक्रान्त of an इष्टि *

Darśa-Par-
vāṃśa.

(iv) चतुर्मासानि—These are sacrifices to be performed every four months beginning with the month of Kārtika. Thus there are three sacrifices in a year commencing in कार्तिक, फाल्गुन and आषाढ in order.

Cāturmāsya

(v) आश्वयुजेष्टि—Consists of an oblation to be offered with the first fruit at the end of the rainy season. The oblation consisting of द्रोणि (paddy), श्यामाक (a kind of grain) and यव (oat) are to be offered successively in the rainy season, autumn and spring.

Āśvayajña.

* The difference between an इष्टि and a यज्ञ is that in an इष्टि no Sūmans are chanted while in a यज्ञ they are done.

Nirūḍha
Pasubandha.

(vi) निरुद्धपशुबन्ध—In this sacrifice beasts are offered to deities. The offerer goes high to celestial places in consequence of this performance.

saṁtrā-
maṇi.

(vii) सोत्रामणि—This is also a beast sacrifice. Beasts are offered to Aśvins, Sārasvata, Indra and Bṛhaspati and cakes called पुरोडाश are given to Indra, Savitā and Varuṇa.

THE SOMA SACRIFICES.

A short
account of
soma sacri-
fice.

These sacrifices go on for one or many days. They sometimes go on for a year or more and are called सत्स. In the beginning of the sacrifices fire is placed on the altar, पशुयाग is observed in the middle, and it closes with the drinking of Soma-juice called सोमाभिषव. There are five subsidiary parts to this sacrifice. These are (1) दीक्षणीया इष्टि, (2) प्रायणीय or आतिथ्य इष्टि, (3) प्रवर्ण क्रिया, (4) पशुयाग (5) and सोमयाग. The performance of this raises the worshipper to the order of a द्विज or twice-born. The दीक्षणीया इष्टि casts the seed of Brāhṁṇa-birth. The Soma juice offered unto fire in the Soma sacrifice is a viand to the fatuṣ. In the प्रायणीय sacrifice this viand is picked up. This is termed आतिथ्य इष्टि as Soma appears here as a guest. The प्रवर्ण क्रिया renders some actions conducive to the nourishment of the fatuṣ. The beast sacrifice removes its beastliness.

Last of all the fetus becomes vigorous and strong partaking of a drink of Soma-juice. There are three offerings to be cast into fire in this sacrifice in the morning, at noon and in the evening. These are styled respectively the morning, the noontide and the evening *Savanas*.

(i) अग्निष्टोम—This forms an essential part of ज्योतिष्टोम and extends to 7 days. This is done in the spring. The fire is praised at the outset. This is the easiest kind of Soma sacrifice. This requires the ministration of sixteen priests. The seven minor priests recite the स्तोमः and शस्त्रः * at the sacrifice during the morning, mid-day and evening libations.

Agnish-
toma.

(ii) अत्यग्निष्टोम—This forms the second part of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice and excels अग्निष्टोम in point of fruit. This extends to 12 days.

Atyagni-
ṣṭoma.

(iii) उक्थ—This is a slight modification of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice. This is one of the seven component parts (संस्थाः) of the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice. The name of the sacrifice indicates its nature, for this refers to उक्थ an old name for शस्त्र or collection of hymns in praise of deities. This differs from स्तोम in as much as it is not sung.

Ukthya

(iv) षोडशी—This is a विकृति of Agniṣṭoma sacrifice. This has an additional शस्त्र and an

Ṣoḍaśī.

* अग्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्यस्तुतिः शस्त्रम्,
प्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्यस्तुतिः स्तोत्रम् (स्तोम) ।

additional stōtr named respectively षोडशी-स्तुत and षोडशी स्तोत्र in addition to the 15 Śāstras and 15 stotras used in the अतिरात्र sacrifice.

(v) वाजपेय—This also is a विकृति of ज्योतिष्टोम । This extends to 17 days. The priests have to wear golden wreath and the hotā puts on a garland of the fibres of lotuses.

(vi) अतिरात्र—This is a component part of ज्योतिष्टोम and is a विकृति of अग्निष्टोम । After the completion of the sacrifice, the priests drink of Soma-juice 12 times from the sacrificial bowl.

(vii) आप्तोर्याम—Those who do not possess or desire to possess more cattle perform this sacrifice. This is in many respects similar to विश्वजित् and अग्निष्टोम sacrifices.

The Gr̥hya Sūtras prescribe five महायज्ञः, seven Pākajajñas and 18 sacraments.

The five Mahā jajñas are (1) ब्रह्मयज्ञ or the study of the Vedas. (2) देवयज्ञ or sacrificial ceremonies, (3) पितृयज्ञ or libations given unto the Fathers, (4) भूतयज्ञ or offerings unto the creatures and (5) मनुष्ययज्ञ or, hospitality. *

The seven पाकयज्ञः are हुत, प्रहुत, आहुत, गृह्यत, बलिहरण, प्रत्यवरोहण and अटका होम । In the opinion of others these are श्रवणकर्म्म, मन्त्रमन्त्रि, आश्रयुजी, आयहायणी, प्रत्यवरोहण, पितृयज्ञ and अवाटका ।

N. B. According to A'svalāyana the

* अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् ।

होमो देवो बलिर्भो तो वृक्षोऽतिविशुद्धम् : मनु । १.७०

number of पाकयज्ञs are three. These are हुत, प्रहुत and आहुत ।

The अष्टकाs are three in number—पूपाष्टका, मांसाष्टका, शाकाष्टका । They are celebrated on the कृष्णष्टमी of पौष, माघ and फाल्गुन respectively †.

The eighteen sacraments are :—

- (1) गर्भाधान, (2) पुंसवन (3) सीमन्तोन्नयन. (4) जातकर्म, (5) नामकरण, (6) निष्क्रामण, (7) अन्नप्राशन, (8) कर्षवेध, (9) चोल, (10) अक्षरस्वीकरण. (11) उपनयन, (12) व्रत, (13) समावर्तन (14) विवाह (15) उपाकर्म, (16) उत्सृज्जेन, (17) विष्णुबलि, (18) and अन्तेष्टि ।

Sacraments.

Of these the first three relate to conception. The व्रतs comprise महानाम्नी, महा उपनिषत् and गोदान and were practised during the Brahmacharya period. For a fuller description of these rites see Manu (Chapter II) and Gṛhya Sūtras.

† Cf. आयुर्वेदशास्त्रे कृष्णष्टमीसु तिसृषु चाष्टकाख्येन कर्मणा श्राद्धेन च पितृन् यजेत् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE UPAVEDAS.

According to the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka the A'yurveda was drawn from the R̥gveda, Dhanurveda from the Yajurveda, Gandharvaveda from the Sāmaveda and Śilpa or Sthāpātya from the Atharvaveda *

Āyurveda
its history.

Āyurveda—is the entire science of life. It is not an encyclopædia of ancient medical works, but a treatise on biology as well. According to Bhāvapṛākṣa Dhanvantari is the author of Āyurveda which contains 100000 slokas and is divided into 8 books. The 6th book is called *agada* meaning the process by which one can get rid of diseases. It is said that a sage named Agniveśa learnt Āyurveda from Ātreya and subsequently composed a treatise on medicine known as Āyurveda Saṃhitā, whereupon his preceptor, Nārada and the gods were much pleased with him. But Brah-mavaivarta purāṇā says that it was Bhāskārācārya who composed Āyurveda Samhitā. Then a large number of men composed treatises on medical science selected from the Atharva

* ऋग्वेदस्यायुर्वेदोपवेदो यजुर्वेदस्य धनुर्वेदोपवेदः ।

सामवेदस्य गन्धर्ववेदोपवेदोऽथर्ववेदस्य शिल्पशास्त्रानीति ॥

शौणकोक्तचरणव्यूहः ।

Veda. Of these we give the names of a few books with the names of their authors against them.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. चिकित्सातत्त्वविज्ञान—मनीरम | 2. चिकित्साकौमुदी—काशीराज |
| 3. चिकित्सासारतन्त्र—अश्विनीसूत | 4. चिकित्सादर्पण—दिवोदास |
| 5. वैद्यकसर्वस्व—नकुल | 6. वैद्यसन्देशमग्न—आकरोमो |
| 7. न्यायिमिश्र, विमर्ह—सुरदेव | 8. औषधान—भगवान् पामि |
| 9. ज्ञानार्थवमहातन्त्र—यमराज | 10. सर्वसारक—आजलि मुनि |
| 11. वेदाङ्गसार—आजलि मुनि | 12. ज्ञानमय—कौपिदमुनि |

According to Suśruta this दिवोदास was Dhanvantari incarnate, but Viṣṇupurāṇa points him as the grandson of Dhanvantari. The name दिवोदास found in the R̥gveda has no connection with this. It is also said that this Veda was delivered by Brahmā, Indra, Asvins, Dhanvantari, Bharadvāja, Ātreya and others. This first arose, in heaven and then through sages came down to earth. It gives the theory of diseases and medicines and the method of treating bodily disorders. Originally it was very voluminous, and then it was abridged by Caraka. It is divided into eight sections, viz., सूत्र, शरीर, इन्द्रिय, चिकित्सा, निदान, विमान, विकल्प and सिद्धि। They deal respectively with *Technics, Anatomy, Organs, Therapeutics, Pathology, Diseases and their clinical studies, Toxicology, and Success.*

Divedāṇa
and the rise
of Ayurveda

Suśruta deals with five of these sections to the exclusion of इन्द्रिय, विमान and सिद्धि। It, for the sake of convenience, gives eight

characteristic features of the Ayurveda—
 These are *Salyatantram*, *Sālākya-tantram*,
Kāya-cikitsā, *Bhuta-vidyā*, *Kaumāra-*
bhītya, *Agada-tantram*, *Rasāyanatantram* and
Vājikarṇatantram. Of these the *first* deals
 with surgery; the *second* with the upward
 fissures or cavities of the body; the *third* with
 general diseases; the *fourth* with Demonical
 diseases; the *fifth* with the management of
 children; the *sixth* with toxicology; the *seven-*
th with the science of rejuvenation and the
eighth with the science of Aphrodisiacs. The
 anatomical section of the treatise deals with
 Midwifery.

धनुर्वेद—is the treatise the study where-
 of brings about the knowledge of arms. It is
 said that the sage ऋषिर्वेद्य born of the fire god
 made this Veda. Droṇācārya and others were
 his disciples and it was he who first invented
 fire-arms. The authorship of this Veda is also
 attributed to the sage Viśvāmitra. There
 are four sections in it—दीक्षा, संग्रह, सिद्धि and प्रयोग
 The first defines the term धनु and speaks of
 persons who are fit to use it. The word धनु
 is not used here in the sense of a bow alone
 but it indicates all weapons that can be hurled
 at or struck upon the enemy, such as, discus
 swords, spears, arrows etc. This weapon may
 be used by all the four sorts of forces. The
 second describes the missiles and the line of

Suśrutā
 Saṁhitā.

Dhanurveda—
 its history
 and subject
 matter.

teachers who were possessed of the secrets of their use. The third deals with efficacious charms and the ways and means of success as well. The fourth has lessons on application of these weapons. This art was chiefly meant for princes to punish the enemy and maintain discipline and order in the kingdom. The origin of this Veda is ascribed to Brahmā.

गन्धर्ववेद—is a treatise on music. The sage Bharata is said to be its author. It deals with music consisting of the three things songs, dances and musical instruments. This is a help to meditation upon god and final emancipation.

Gandharva
veda

स्वायम्भुव or शिल्प—This is a treatise on mechanical-art. There are sixty-four books of this subject propagated by Viśvāmitra for the improvement of mechanical art. This includes politics, training of horses, science of looking etc. composed by various sages at different times.

Śilpa.

Some books of आयुर्वेद and गन्धर्ववेद are extant. These are meant mainly for material prosperity. About the other two Upavedas little is known.

The Kāma-Sāstra of Vātsāyana is also included in the Āyurveda. It too aims at acquiring knowledge in diseases and their causes, as well as the cure of diseases and their prevention.

Kāma Sūtra

There are four Upāṅgas or subsidiary

limbs also. These are Purāṇa, Dharma-Śāstra, Upāṅgas, Mimāṃsā and Nyāya.

The Purāṇas are 18 in number. They are divided into three classes in accordance with the worship they inculcate to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. [For a fuller description of these see the chapter on Purāṇas in the classical period.]

There is difference of opinion about the number of Dharma-Śāstras. Mr. Colebrooke in his *Digest of the Hindoo Law* has said that there were more than a hundred books on this subject. During the administration of Lord Hastings and Cornwallis some 23 Dharma Saṃhitās were discovered by Sir William Jones, Bholānāth Kumār and others. The names of twenty composers of Dharma Śāstras are found in the following verses of याज्ञवल्क्य संहिता ।

नवहिविष्णु हारीतयाज्ञवल्क्योऽपिदीक्षितः ।

यनापस्तम्बसन्तः कात्यायनहस्तौ ॥

पराशरव्यासशङ्खदिक्षिता दक्षगौतमी ।

शातातपी वशिष्ठश्च धर्मशान्प्रयोगिनाः ॥

Number of
Dharma
śāstras.

Antiquarian researches have brought to light the names of some thirty Dharma Śāstras. So far as can be surmised there were some 50 Dharma Saṃhitās in ancient India. The twenty enumerated above are prevalent in the whole of India. Brahma-

vaivarta purāṇa mentions the names of 14 Dharma Śāstras and these are famous for their scholarly writings.

मीमांसा—Jaimini is the author of this. He has with great care removed the apparent differences existing in the different injunctions of the Vedas. [The subject has subsequently been dealt under its special head.]

Mīmāṃsā

न्याय—This treatise composed by Gautama is rightly called the mirror for understanding all other scriptures, for it sharpens the intellect of the reader and makes him eligible for understanding a thing, however difficult it might be.

Nyāya

The Vedāṅgas or subsidiary studies to the Vedas are six in number. They are शिखा, कल्प, व्याकरण, निरुक्त, छन्दः and ज्योतिष। It is said that Chandah is the feet of the Vedas, Kalpa their hands ; Jyotish represents the eyes and Nirukta their ears ; Śikshā is the nose of the Vedas and Vyākaraṇa their mouth.

Vedāṅgas

शिखा—This has six chapters treating of letters (vowels and consonants), accents (acute, low and circumflex), measure (short, long and

Śikṣā.

• छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पौऽथ पठ्यते ।

ज्योतिषामयनं चक्षुर्निरुक्तं श्रोतमुच्यते ॥

शिखा ब्राह्मं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं शृणुतम् ।

तस्मात् सान्मर्धीत्येव त्रप्रश्नोक्तिं मधीयते ॥

† प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।

चाग्रयः सर्वधर्माणां विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्तिताः ॥”

prolonged). efforts, (inward and outward), the avoidance of any kind of fault in uttering, and euphonic combination.

Kalpa. कल्प—Or more properly Kalpa Sūtras gather together hymns found in different Samhitās of different schools to be applied to a particular ceremony.

Tyākaraga. व्याकरण—Or grammar, treats of base, affixes, suffixes, &c. There are nine authoritative grammars. These are Aindra, Cāndra, Kāśakṛtsna, Kauṇāra, Śākaṭāyana, Sārasvata, Āpīśala, Śākala and Pāṇini. The last mentioned grammar treats of both Vedic and Classical languages.

Nirukta. निरुक्त—This may properly be called the supplement to the grammar. The author of the book is Yāska. He explains some Vedic verses and gives the synonyms of Vedic words and their derivations. This is divided into 18 chapters. The last two are called supplements. Some say that the first 14 chapters are divided into 430 lessons, while in the opinion of others their number is 448 or 443. The first 17 chapters are divided into three books called Kāṇḍas. These are Naighaṇṭuka, Naigama and Daivata. The first consists of 5 chapters, the second 6 and the third also 6. The first Kāṇḍa gives the synonyms of words, the second explains the Vedic verses and the third enumerates

and divides the Vedic gods into three classes in accordance with the places (the earth, the air and the heaven) they live in. But Sāyaṇa in his 'Introduction to the Ṛgveda says that the Naighuntaka Kāṇḍa. has three chapters and the Naigama and the Daivata, each, one chapter. He does not mention the names of its supplements. Thus in his opinion Nirukta comprises only three Kāṇḍas divided into five chapters.

छन्दः—This is a book on prosody. This treats of various metres containing feet of various lengths according to short and long syllables standing in the beginning, middle or end. There are twenty one metres in all, of which seven are very important. Piṅgala and others have written treatises on this. [For fuller account see Introduction].

Chandah

ज्योतिष—This treats of auspicious and inauspicious moments for starting for a place or beginning a trade, &c. This also deals with the motion of the earth and other planets &c. It is said that the Ṛgveda had 36 works attached to it, the Yajurveda 13 works more besides these 36 in common with the Ṛgveda. Atharvaveda has works quite distinct from these. There is no mention of works attached to the Sāma Veda.

Jyotiṣ.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HINDU PHILOSOPHY.

Origin of
philosophy.

Indian philosophy traces its origin to the hymns of the Vedas. It is chiefly pantheistic and idealistic. The term दर्शन corresponding to the English word philosophy came perhaps into use when the loose philosophical thoughts had to a certain extent been systematised.

Darśana—its
explanation
and source.

The word दर्शन means an in-sight into the nature of *self*. The term possibly traces its origin to the expression, "चात्मा वा अरे दृश्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः" (Br. 2-4-5), that was said by याज्ञवल्क्य to his wife मैत्रेयी at the time of his departure from home to प्रव्रज्या। It was then versified by later sages in the following manner—

श्रोतव्यः श्रुतिवाक्येभ्यः मन्तव्यश्चोपपत्तिभिः।

मत्वा च सततं ध्येय एतं दर्शनं हितवः॥"

wherein the very word दर्शन occurs. There are also some heterodox philosophies of which the Buddhistic and Jaina philosophies are important.

Scope of
philosophy—
its divisions.

The scope of philosophy is to inquire about the relation existing between the cause and its effects. In the opinion of some the cause is quite different from its effect, while

in the opinion of others the cause is identical with and at the same time different from its effect. There is another set of philosophers who regard the cause to be totally identical with its effect and thus philosophy is divided into three sections preaching the doctrine of *Dualism*, qualified *Monism* and pure *Monism*.

Age of
philosophy

The religion of Brāhmaṇs and Upaniṣads flourished in India about 1000 B. C., and during that time a good deal of philosophical discussions were carried on, but no established school was yet founded. From this it is clear that though the doctrine of each is mentioned by the others, these were not contemporaneous. These floating tenets when collected and systematised, took the shape of a distinct school and went by the name of its propounder. * Just after the *Brāhmaṇic period* different schools of philosophy and religion were founded about 600 B. C.

Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Pātañjala, Pūrva-Mimāṃsā and Uttara-Mimāṃsā are collectively known as षड्दर्शन or *six schools of philosophy*. Mādhavācārya notices ten other systems in his *Sarva Darśana Saṃgraha*. Sankaracārya too notices these in his सर्वमत-संग्रह ।

ṣaḍa
darśana

* गीतमादिमुनीनां तत्तच्छास्त्रस्मारकत्वमेव श्रूयते, न तु बुद्धि-पूर्वककचुलम् । अद्वैत ब्रह्मसिद्धिः ।

Divisions
of Hindu
philosophy.

The schools of Indian philosophy are often divided into two classes—*Āstika* and *Nāstika* recognising and not recognising the existence of soul after death in order. This division is unsatisfactory. The *Cārvāka* system alone can be declared as *Nāstika*. It would be better to classify them as the *Vaidika* and *Avaidika* systems, the one recognising and the other repudiating the authority of the Veda. The *Cārvāka*, *Bauddha* and *Ārṇata* systems fall under the second group, while the remaining systems under the first. It should be noticed here that of the *Vaidika* philosophies, the *Rāmānuja* system propounded by *Rāmānuja*, *Pūrṇaprajña* system propounded by *A'nanda-tirtha* and *Śaiva* system started by *Nilakaṇṭha* and others explain *Brahma Sūtra* of *Vyāsa*, but they have given different expositions of the aphorisms and differ from that of *Śaṅkarācārya*. The system expounded by *Śaṅkara* and his followers goes by the name of *सुब्रह्मैतवाद* or the doctrine of *pure non dualism*, while that expounded by *Rāmānuja* and his followers is known as *विशिष्टाद्वैतवाद* or the doctrine or *special non-dualism*.

The above-mentioned philosophies may, in accordance with the different philosophical principles, as said before, be classified in another way. This line of division would give rise to the following four classes of tenets :—

1. *Asatkāraṇavāda* or *Asadvāda*—According

Different
ways of
divisions.

to this theory everything seeming to exist has come out of nothing. So there is no existence of a non-phenomenal cause to produce a phenomenon. This view is adopted by the Buddhistic school.

Asadvāda.

2. *Asatkāryavāda* or *Ārambhavāda*—This theory says that the cause previously extant produces a previously non-existent effect. The Naiyāyikas, the Vaiśeṣikas and the Mīmāṃsakas adopt this view.

Ārambhavāda.

3. *Pariṇāmavāda* or *the theory of evolutionary transformation* :—This explains that everything before its evolution exists in अव्यक्ता-वस्था or potential state. The activity of the cause helps only to bring about its manifestation. This is ascribed to Sāṃkhya and P'ātanjāla systems.

Pariṇāmavāda.

4. *Vivartavāda* or *the theory of evolution without substantial mutation* :—According to this theory the phenomenal universe comes out of the ultimate cause through the agency of *Māyā*, its own nature. The world in reality is not real but appears to be so on account of our ignorance. Brahma, the ultimate cause, is the only real thing. Thus the world is the दिव्यतत्त्व or development of Brahma, which is called its अव्यवस्था. This view is adopted by the Vedantic school and specially by Śaṅkara and his followers.

Vivartavāda.

The difference between the *Parināma* and

Difference
between Vi-
varta and
Pariṇāma
vādas.

Vivartavādas is that in the former the अविष्टान or the cause is transformed, while in the latter the अविष्टान is not really transformed but appears to be so through illusion or *Māyā*.

Satkārya
Vāda.

N. B. Both the *Pariṇāma* and *Vivartavādas* may together be called *Satkāryavāda*, in as much as they exist originally in a potential state.

The following sloka summarises the *Pramāṇas* or the sources of true knowledge recognised by the Indian philosophers with a view to establish the principles of their own respective systems.

Evidence.

प्रत्यक्षमेकं चार्वाकाः कणादसुगतौ पुनः
अनुमानञ्च तच्चापि सांख्याः शब्दञ्च ते उभे ।
न्यायैकदेशिनीऽप्येवं उपमानञ्च केवलम्
अर्थापत्त्या सहैतानि चर्त्वाय्य दुः प्रभाकराः ।
अभावः पष्ठान्येतानि भट्टा वेदान्तिनस्तथा
सम्भवैतिह्ययुक्तानि त्विति पौराणिका जगुः ।

Theory of
transmigra-
tion.

The theory that every individual passes after death into a new existence in heaven or hell or in the bodies of men or animals, was so firmly established in the 6th century B. C. that Buddha adopted it into his own religious system. This idea originates from a couple of passages in the 10th maṇḍala of the *R̥gveda* (X.16.3 ; X 14.2). But the western scholars are of opinion that this theory was prevalent among the aborigines of India and the Aryans had taken it from them and developed it.

Sāṁkhya Philosophy.

The system of Sāṁkhya philosophy is ascribed to Kapila, an ancient sage of India. He is called the Descartes of India. The name Sāṁkhya means something relating to saṁkhyā or reasoning. Then Sāṁkhya philosophy comes to mean a system of philosophy devoted to reasonings alone. The problems regarding man, nature and man's relation to the universe are answered here from pure reasoning. This system is otherwise known as Śaṣṭi tantra or Tantra alone. According to this system the ultimate and final unit of elements is a composition of Puruṣa and Prakriti (matter and energy) or in other word proton and electron of modern conception, that are nothing but the positive and negative charges. Matter itself may be regarded as a form of vibrant energy now lying quite distinct from each other. In their final analysis they may merge into one—energy itself—in the terms of modern scientists atoms of electricity—proving the oneness of Puruṣa as is preached by the Vedānta.

This system explains the theory of *Evolution* which is the resultant with integration of matter and dissipation of force. Like *वैशेषिकदर्शन* it does not hold a'om to be the ultimate and final unit of elements. The progressive advance of *evolution* is from non-mani-

The author
and the ex-
planation of
the titles.

Subject
matter.

fest into the manifest, from primordial matter into elements and from elements into inorganic substances. Thus the complex world has come before our view. God finds no place in this system, for if the theory of evolution is accepted He becomes superfluous in the cosmic order of existence. So says आह्वा प्रवचनसूत्र—ईदृशमितिः ।
सुखादयोरेव-राभादान्न तदभिहितः १।६-१२

Works and
commenta-
ries on the
system.

Of the extant works of this system the Sāṃkhya Sūtra of Kapila and the Sāṃkhya Kārikā of Iśvarakṛishṇa are important. The former has been commented by Vijnāna-bhikṣu and Aniruddha and the latter by Gauḍapāda, Vācaspatimishra, Rāmakānta, and Nārāyaṇatīrtha. These commentaries are respectively known as Sāṃkhya Pravacana Bhāṣya, Vṛtti, Bhāṣya, Sāṃkhya Tattva Kaumudī, Sāṃkhya Kaumudī, and Sāṃkhya Candrikā. The Sāṃkhya Pravacana Sūtra contains about 527 aphorisms divided into six Chapters. The Sāṃkhya Kārikā consists of 72 distiches. Besides, we have Sāṃkhya Sāra of Vijnābhikṣu and an old work Tattva Samāsa which is very rare *

* For translations and English works on the system the students are referred to Wilson's translation of Sāṃkhya Kārikā with Gandipāda's Commentary, Dr. Balaantine's translation of Sāṃkhya Sūtra, Mr. Colebrooke's translation of Sāṃkhya pravacana bhāṣya and Sāṃkhya Sāra etc.

At the outset the Sāṅkhya Sūtra says :-
 The ultimate object of man is absolute freedom from three kinds of pain, viz., (1) bodily and mental. (2) natural and extrinsic and (3) divine or supernatural. * According to Kapila final emancipation is obtained by knowledge alone which is acquired by the knowledge of 24 elements. These principles or तत्त्व with puruṣa are divided in four different ways, in as much as they are प्रकृति, विकृति, प्रकृति-विकृति and अनुभवतः, i.e., neither प्रकृति nor विकृति. This system in dualism as opposed to monism. *आत्मा* (soul) and *प्रकृति* (primordial nature) are the two things eternal and self-existing. *आत्मा* is free from three kinds of *guṇas* or qualities and action. It is beyond happiness and misery and pleasure and pain. *प्रकृति* is worked upon by the three *guṇas*. When there is equilibrium of the three *guṇas* there is no creation. Creation follows only when there is unequal distribution of these *guṇas*. When this equilibrium is broken *Prakṛti* marches on its courses of evolution and we get the 24 *principles* or *tattvas*. From *Prakṛti* comes *Mahat* which in its turn generates *Ahaṁkāra*. From *Ahaṁkāra* are sprung *Pañca Tanmātras* and

Subject
matter of
Sāṅkhya
System

* अथ विविधदुःखात्यन्तनिवृत्तिरत्यन्तपुरुषार्थः । १।१।१। सांख्य-सूत्र

दुःखत्रयाभिघाताच्चिज्ञासा तदपघातके हेतौ ।

दृष्टे सापार्था चेत् नैकान्तात्यन्ताभावत् । १ । सांख्यकारिका

Ekādaśa Indriyas. † *Pañca Mahābhūtas* come of *Pañca Tannātras* ‡ These 24 Principles with *Puruṣa* are known as the 25 categories or *Tattvas* of *Sāṃkhya*. प्रकृति or primordial matter is not capable of change. The seven principles beginning from सत्त्वं patake the nature of both प्रकृति and विकृति. The eleven sense organs and five gross elements are *bhikṛiti* alone and the *पुरुष* is neither प्रकृति nor विकृति. प्रकृति is full of माया and पुरुष though independent by nature, is covered with माया owing to its contact with प्रकृति. If once this contact is cut off पुरुष is ever free. With the help of eight kinds of asceticism this bondage of *Puruṣa* can be cut off.

Kapila recognises an infinite number of souls, on the ground that if it were otherwise the salvation of one would entail the total extinction of all bondage and the consequent dissolution of the universe, but this is not what takes place.

† बुद्धिन्द्रियानि चक्षुःश्रोत्राणरसनत्वगाह्यानि ।
वाक्पाणिपादपात्रपण्यान् कर्मेन्द्रियान्याहुः ॥

सांख्यकारिका । २७ ।

‡ उभयात्मकानन्त सगः ५८—कारिका—२७ ।

§ प्रकृतेर्महास्ततोऽङ्गकारस्तन्माह्वय पीडशकः ।

तस्मादपि षोडशकात् पञ्चभ्यः पञ्चभूतानि ॥ कारिका । २२ ।

1. चतुर्विंशतितत्त्वज्ञो यत् तवायमे वसेत् ।

जटी मुण्डौ शिखौ वापि मुच्यते नाव संशयः ॥

He admits three kinds of evidence—*
Vedic authority, reasoning and perception.
Existence of Tattvas is dependent upon these
evidencies. प्रकृति and those derived from
prakriti are proved by perception and reasoning,
while *Purṣa* is proved by Vedic authority
alone.

Evidences.

Satkāryavāda—According to Buddhistic
philosophy some thing is produced out of no-
thing (असतःसञ्जायते). Naiyāyikas, on the other-
hand hold that nonentity is produced out of
entity (सतोऽसञ्जायते). Vedantins hold that the
effect is nothing but *vivarta* of the self existent
ब्रह्म. In the opinion of the Sāmkhyās both
cause and effect are real and distinct (सतःसञ्जायते
This system refutes the other three by saying
that an unreal thing can never have any connec-
tion with a real thing and creation of a
thing without having connection with its
cause is impossible'.

Save and except soul everything else is प्रकृति
or derived from प्रकृति. Everything else but
soul is material. The soul alone is non-

Nature of
the tattvas.

* दृष्टमनुमानमाप्तवचनं च सर्वप्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् ।

त्रिविधं प्रमाणमिदं प्रमेयसिद्धिः प्रमाणाद्धि ॥ का

1. असत्तात्रास्ति सम्बन्धः कारणैः सत्वसद्भिः ।

असम्बद्धस्य चीतृपत्तिमिच्छती न व्यवस्थितिः ॥

material.† Kapila is the most bigoted materialistic philosopher ever born. It has been said before that Kapila recognises 25 categories only. It is to be noted that God finds no mention in the entire body of these 25 *principles*.

Now the question arises if the propounder of the system is a thorough going atheist. It is often assumed that he was so; but Vijñāna-bhikṣu in his commentary on the Sāṃkhya Sūtra has tried his best to prove that he was not. His argument is that if Kapila had denied the existence of God he would have written "ईश्वरानास्त" instead of "ईश्वरमिदं" in his Sūtras. Kapila said only this that the existence of God is incapable of being proved by processes of reasoning.

Whether
Kapila is an
atheist.

It is necessary to understand clearly that Kapila's mental philosophy was psychology, i.e. the distinction between the senses, organs, the mind, the consciousness, the intellect, the elements and the soul. The five senses simply receive impression from without, and the five organs of sense perform their own functions. The mind is nothing but a sense organ. Consciousness individualises these impressions as the mind and the intellect distinguish, discriminate and form them into concepts.

Mental
philosophy
of Kapila.

According to Kapila the elements proceed from consciousness. Kapila herein seems to

Objects and
Sensation.

† मूलप्रकृतिरविकृति न ह्यथा; प्रकृतिविकृतयः सन् ।
योऽशकस्तु विकारो न प्रकृति न विकृतिः पुरुषः ॥ का

think like Bishop Berkeley and Hume that objects are but permanent possibilities of sensation.

The Linga Śarīr or subtle body consisting of 18 elements passes away with the soul on death ; so only the gross body of the five elements remains. The Soul with this subtle body enters into the body of a person at the time of his birth. It is this subtle body that suffers or enjoys and not the *soul*.

Yoga-system.

By the side of the Sāṃkhya philosophy stands Patañjali's Yoga system. Patañjali admits one element more and that is God. "God is a *puruṣa* untouched by pain, action, mutation and desire and in Him has knowledge found its perfection". Thus the gap left by Kapila is filled up by Patañjali. So this philosophy is sometimes called Sesvara Sāṃkhya philosophy.

Yoga-system.

The Yoga system consisting of 194 aphorisms is divided into 4 chapters called *pādas*. They are chapters on meditation (*Samādhi*), practices (*Sādhana*), occult powers (*Vibhūti*) and salvation (*Kaivalya*).

Arrangement

Patañjali like Kapila gives eight means by which perfect knowledge can be attained.

1. क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपरावृत्तः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः । १ । २४
तत्र निरतिशयं सर्वज्ञत्ववौजम् । १ । २५ ।
2. यत्ननियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्यहारधारणाध्यानसमाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि २ । २८

Means and
efficacy of
Yoga.

This process is called "Yoga" whereby is meant the regulation of mind with the object of controlling its functions. By occult powers a man may know the past and the future, the near and the distant, converse with spirits and travel in the air or through water. The *summum bonum* is attained by the complete extinction of unhappiness by constant pursuit of true knowledge and meditation of God.

Mental
philosophy.

His mental philosophy is almost like that of Kapila. The object of Yoga is final emancipation.

Works and
commenta-
ries on the
system.

The standard commentary on Patañjali is Vyāsa's Yoga Sūtra Bhāṣya. There are also Tattvavāiśārādī of Vācaspati, Rājamārtanḍa of king Bhoja of Dhārā and Yoga-vārtika of Vijñānabhikṣu on it. Nāgoji Bhatta Upādhyāya, a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa, has written a commentary on it named Pātañjala Sūtra Vṛtti. †

† Dr. Ballantine has translated portions of Yoga Sūtras and its commentary into English. The whole Yoga Sūtra has been translated in the Pandit, published from

NYĀYA-SYSTEM.

The Nyāya system was founded by Gotama who is rightly called the Aristotle of India. Akṣapāda is another name of Gotama and hence this philosophy is called akṣpāda darśāṇa also. This system is also called Tarka Śāstra and Ānvikṣiki Śāstra in as much as it deals philosophy with reasonings and arguments. His system is called the old (Prācīna) Nyāya. This system has been much developed and enlarged by various philosophical scholars of Navadvīpa with Gaṅgeśa Bhaṭṭa at the head. Like the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga systems, this system also aims at the final emancipation of soul. According to this philosophy ordinary souls are infinite in number corresponding to our infinite Jivātmās. Caitanya is but an attribute of soul which arises from inter connection of the soul and mind. But over and above these there is the supreme soul, the seat of eternal knowledge and the maker of all things. The Naiyāyikas say that as the existence of a thing having a definite shape and parts implies the existence of its maker, so existence of the universe establishes the existence of God, its maker. Besides they hold that without the intervention of an intelligent being a post action cannot be required in future.

A short notice
of the Nyāya
System.

Creation is an act. of divine grace. The misery of man being the result of this action, it does not conflict with God's kindness.

This system tries to establish the monism of the Vedānta. The sixteen categories are meant for the preservation of Absolute truth, as thorny hedges for the protection of seeds'. This aims at creating indifference also². In it we find as in the Vedānta, the three sorts of existence real, conventional and illusory³. Knowledge and not action is the way to attain salvation. Prameya or the objects of knowledge are 12 in number viz (1) soul. (2) body (3) senses. (4) the objects of senses (5) intellect (6) mind, (7) production (8) fault, (9) transmigration (10) retribution (11) pain (12) and emancipation.

The Naiyāyikas acknowledge one evidence more and it is Upamāna and thus the total number of evidence is four.

The Naiyayikas deal with sixteen different categories viz. प्रमाण-प्रमेय-मंसः-प्रयोजन-दृष्टान्त-

(१) "तत्प्राथम्यसाधनं रक्षणार्थं जल्पद्वितण्डे दीनप्ररोधं रक्षणार्थं कण्टकशस्त्रावरणवत्" ।

२ । ' बुद्ध्या विवेचनात् भावानां यायात्मानुपलब्धित्वपर्यन्तं पटलदृष्टानुपलब्धित्वं तदनुपलब्धिः' ।

"स्वप्नविषयाभिमानप्रत् अयं प्रमाणप्रमेयाभिमानः"

३ । "मित्रोपपन्नविनिर्वाणस्तत्त्वज्ञानात् स्वप्नविषयाभिमानविक्षाभ-
दत् प्रतिषेधे" ।

मिहान्त, प्रत्यय, तर्क, निर्णय, वाद, जल्प, वितण्डा, हेत्वाभास, कल, जाति and निग्रहस्थान, for they maintain that the knowledge of these categories is the means of acquiring self-knowledge. These sixteen categories have again been subdivided in various ways.

The book is divided into five chapters, each of which contains two Āhnikas or lectures. Each Āhnika has again Prakaraṇas, both elaborate and short. The ten Āhnikas have altogether eighty four Prakaraṇas. The number of Prakaraṇas varies from four to seventeen. The first and second Āhnikas of the first chapter speak of the utility of the work in the shape of emancipation, characteristics of sixteen categories, and the fallacies preliminary and final. The second chapter tests the evidences and proves the imperishable nature of words and establishes the expressive power of words. The third has discourses about Soul, Body and Organs of senses. It also establishes the decaying nature of intellect and quality of *Ātmā* etc. The fourth describes the six *Padārthas*, viz.—inclination, fault, death, result, sorrow and salvation. It speaks also of creation, the theory of atoms and the test of true knowledge. The last chapter,

The book—
its division
and subject
matter.

Benares and the whole Sūtra with the gloss of Vacaspati has been rendered into English by Ramāprasad Chanda.
For a fuller list See Hall's Bibliographical index PT. 2—19.

distinguishes species from individual and discusses Nigrahasthāna etc.

His Holiness, the great sage Vyāsa has spoken thus of *Nyāya Śāstra* in the *Mokṣa Dharma Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* :—
 “तत्रोपनिषद् तात ! पार्थिव ! सद्यःमि
 मनसा तात ! दृष्ट्वा चान्वोच्चिकीं पराम् ॥” I shall
 churn the essence of Upaniṣad ‘O, my darling
 through the medium of Tarka Śāstra. The relation of cause to its effect is recognised
 in this system also. The causes are threefold,
 immediate or direct, mediate or indirect and
 instrumental.

Causes and
effects.

Number of
soul.

The soul is different in each person and separate from the body and senses.

Syllogism.

The special feature of this system is its syllogism consisting of five parts—proposition (*Pratijñā*), reason (*Hetu*), instance (*Dṛṣṭānta*), application of the reason (*Upanaya*), and conclusion (*Nigamana*).

The Nyāya
Sūtras and
its division.

There are three classes of books on this philosophy. These are (1) *Bhāṣya*, (2) *Vārttika*, and (3) *Tikā*.

Pakṣila Svāmī or Vātsāyana wrote a commentary on it named *Nyāya Bhāṣya*, otherwise known as *Vātsāyana Bhāṣya*. The *Nyāya Vārttika Bhāṣya*, a commentary, was written by Udyotakara Ācārya. Vācaspati Miśra's comment on the system is *Nyāya*

Vārttika-Tātparya-Tikā. Udayanācārya's commentary on Vacaspati's work goes by the name of Nyāya Vārttika-Tātparya-Parisuddhi. Besides we have Tarka Bhāṣā of Keśava Mīśra, Tarka Bhāṣā Sravara, the commentary on the above, by Govardhan Mīśra, Bhāvastha Dipikā by Gourī kanta, Tarkabhāṣāsāra Mañ-jarī by Mādhava Deva, author of Nyāyasāra, Nyāya Saṃgraha by Rāmbhāga Kṛitī, Kusum-āñjali by Nārāyaṇa usthā, Nyāya Saṃkṣepa by Govinda Bhattācārya, Bhāṣā Pariccheda with its commentary, Siddhānta Muktāvalī by Viśvanāth Pañcānana, Cintamaṇi by Gaṇeśa Upādhyāya &c. on this system. *

Commenta-
ries etc. of
the Nyāya
Sūtra.

* Dr. Ballantyne has published a translation of the first four books of the Nyāya Sūtra. He has translated also Tarka Saṃgraha. Dr. Gough has published Bhāṣā Pariccheda with its commentary and an English translation as well. Kāśinātha Tarka Pañcānan has written a Bengali commentaty on it. Rai Rajendranāth Sāstri Bāhādur has translated Siddhānta Muktavali into Bengali.

VAIS'EṢIKA-SYSTEM.

Kaṇāda's Vaiśeṣika system seems to be a supplement to Gautam's Logic. This System is otherwise known as *Oulukya Darśana*. The designation of the system is after Viśeṣa, acknowledged by its author.

Kaṇāda and
his atomic
theory.

Kaṇāda's system is atomic theory. According to him all material things are the aggregate of atoms and atoms are eternal. The atoms are of four different kinds corresponding to four different elements, viz, earth, water, fire and air. Ākāśa being eternal, it has no corresponding atom. The cosmic universe has come out of the conjunction of atoms. The disjunction of these atoms will lead to its dissolution. The operation of some mystical agency creates a commotion in aerial atoms; this process joins one atom to another and forms molecules and gradually a massive form. The other elements too grow in this way and thus appears the material world before our sight.

Subject
matter and
division of
the book

It has ten chapters each containing two sections called āhnikas. The first chapter deals with matters and their inter relations, the second with time and space, the third with Ātmā and internal organs, the fourth with body, the fifth with actions, the sixth with

Vedic rites, the seventh with guṇas and sama-bāya, the eighth with evidences, the ninth with intellect and viśeṣa and the tenth with inferences of various kinds. The number of aphorisms is altogether a hundred.

The Vaiśeṣikas maintain that Divine Reason can not be the cause of the material world, for that being the case intelligence would have been one of its inherent properties.

Divine reason is not the cause of the world.

The Vaiśeṣikas, like Naiyāyikas recognise Ātmā or soul to be eternal and say that salvation consists in the severance of the soul from its connection with the attributes. The attainment of this depends on the acquisition of true knowledge with regard to six categories. These are (1) Substance (द्रव्य) (2) Quality (गुण) (3) Action (कर्म्म) (4) Generality (सामान्य) (5) Particularity (विशेष) (6) and Coherence (समवाय). Some acknowledge another category also and it is non-existence (अभाव)

Six categories.
es.

This system deals with matter and force and so has more of physics in it than of real philosophy. According to Kaṇād matter is eternal and distinct from soul, other things are in common with the Nyāya system.

Matter and force.

It is said that Rāvaṇa wrote a *Bhāṣya* on it but it is not now available. The Vaiśeṣika

Sūtras of Kaṇāda have been commented on by Praśastapāda in the Praśastapāda Bhāṣya or Dravya Bhāṣya. Mahāmahopādhyaya Candra Kānta Tarkālankar has also commented on it. Vyomaśivācārya perhaps occupies the next place, with regard to this *Darśana*, after Praśastapāda. His comment is known as "Vyomavatī." Rajsekharā in his commentary Nyāyakandali and Ballabhācārya in his Nyāyalilāvali have reference to it.

Work and
Commenta-
ries on the
system.

Glosses and
other works
on the system

There are three glosses on the work, one is the Kiranāvali by Udayana Ācārya and the other two are anonymous. Kiranāvali Prakāśa of Vardhamān is a comment on Kiranāvali. There is a *Tīkā* of Pakṣadhara Miśra on it. Besides there is a comment of Padmanābha Miśra on it called *Kiranāvali Bhāskar*. Nyāya Kandali of Śrīdhara, a Bengali, was written in 991 A. D. Sapta Padārthī of Śivāditya deserves mention here. Śaṅkara Miśra's Upaskāra, a book on Vaiśeṣika Darśana and his two other works Kāṇḍa Rahasyam and Vādivinode are two important books, on the system. The famous Raghunātha Śrīromaṇi of Navadvīp wrote a work on the system called Padārtha Khaṇḍana.

Rāmcandra Sārvabhouma has Padārtha Khaṇḍana-Vivecana Prakāśa, a comment on Padārtha Khaṇḍana and Kiranāvali Rahasya.

Mathurānath has bhāṣyas on Kiranāvali Prakās and Nyāyalilāvali. Hari Rām Tarkavāgiśa has commented on Sapta Padārthi of Śivāditya. Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra wrote a tikā, Sūkti by name on Prasastapāda Bhāṣya•

Some other
works on
the system.

• For a general idea of the system read Dr Gough's translation on the System published in the Pandit and Maximüller's papers on Indian Logic in Arch Bishop Thomson's Laws of thought .

PŪRVAMĪMĀMSĀ

Mīmāṃsā

Jaimini establishes in his system that salvation is secured by performing vedic sacrifices and rituals. The various slaughters of animals are not heinous crimes at all, on the other hand, they make smooth the path to salvation. Jaimini bases his doctrines upon the rituals and ceremonials of the Vedas, which are known as *Kalpa* and maintains that the due performance of these things is essential for salvation. The other division of the Veda is known as *rahasya* and is dealt with in the U. tara Mīmāṃsā of Vyāsa.

Division of
the book

This system has 2652 Sūtras divided into 12 books, each of which is again subdivided into four chapters excepting the 3rd, 6th and 10th, which contain twice as many chapters as the other books do.

Subject
matter.

The first chapter deals with the authority of the Vedas comprising *Arthavāda*, *Mantra* and *Smṛti*. The second treats of the varieties of actions, their introduction, evidence, negation, and application. In the third chapter we get how a Yajamāna would think of subsidiary rites conducive to the principal one. The fourth discusses the primary and subordinate necessities of *Jñāna* etc. Besides it has discussion regarding the Rājasūya sacrifice with its

limbs and playing on dice etc. The fifth chapter speaks of the superiority and inferiority of *śruti*, *linga* etc. The sixth ascertains who are eligible to perform the sacrifice and discusses about the articles of sacrifice, representative of the yajamāna, necessity of sacrifice, expiation and fire etc. The seventh speaks of *atideśa* regarding *nāma*, *linga* etc., when direct mandate is absent; the eighth has discussions on *atideśa* with regard to the vivid or the obscure *linga* and *apavāda*. The ninth discusses *ūha* with reference to *sām* or *mantra* and things related thereto. In the tenth there is a discussion of the meaning of negation and various other minor things. The eleventh has discussions of *tantra*, *tantrāvāpa*, *tantra* *prapañcana* etc. The twelfth comes to the conclusion of things going before and shows their mutual relations. Besides it has a discourse on *samuccaya* and *vikalpa*. In the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* there is a remarkable mass of Vedic reference and argumentation in evidence. Jaimini lays down the doctrine that sound is eternal and that the Vedas contain matters which ought to be accepted without any hesitation.

"Salvation" the *Mīmāsakas* maintain "does not involve the extinction of the mind, as this in conjunction with the soul, feels beatitude." According to them souls are many and they reap the fruits of their own actions.

Salvation
and number
of souls.

God

They do not admit the existence of gods with various forms; mantras, they say, are the body of the gods.

The author
and his Pre-
decessors

This system is based on the Sūtras of Jaimini. He has in his Sūtras quoted the authority of A'treya, Vādarāyaṇa, Lāvāṇyana, Āitisāyana and others.

Time of the
composition.

The time of the work seems to precede the Buddhistic period as it has no mention of their works. Asvalāyan's Gṛhya Sūtra and the Mahābhārat have mention of Jaimini, the author of the system. The last mentioned work was composed, as has been conclusively proved by Bhāṇḍārkar and others about 1500 B. C. long before the birth of Buddha.

Works and
Commen-
taries on
the System.

These Sūtras have a Vārttika by Bhagavān Upavarṣa and a commentary by Śavara Svāmī Bhaṭṭa called Śavarabhāṣya. Besides, we have the Vārttika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, a commentary, named Vṛthā by Vimalaruci, Śāstra Dipikā of Partha Sarathī Miśra, Mayūkhamālā of Somanātha. Bhaṭṭa Dipikā and Mimāṃsā Kāṇḍikā of Khaṇḍa Deva. The Mimāṃsā Nyāya Viveka of Bhavarātha Miśra and Nyāyāvalī Dīdhī of Rāgharānanda on the system also deserve mention.

We have again a few metrical works on the system, of which the following are important :—

(1) Saṅgraha, (2) Śloka Vārttika of Kumārila and (3) Nyāya-mālā Vārtika of Mādhava (Sāyana).

Śavara—Mahāmahopādhyāya Gāṅgānāth Jhā thinks that Śavara flourished about 1st century B. C. We have the names of Pāṇiniya Śikṣa, Kātyāyan, Patañjali, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras, Manu, Mahābhārat and even Purāṇas mentioned by him. One Savaraswāmī, son of Dīpta Swāmī wrote a tikā on Pāṇiniya Lingānuśāsanam. He may be the writer of the Bhāṣya on the Mīmāṃsā Darśan.

Śavara and
his school.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was born long after Śavara. He has refuted the opinion established by Bhaṭṭarhari in his Vākyapadiya, which is supposed to be composed in the 7th century A.D. Sankar Vijaya says that Kumārila had an interview with Sāṅkarācārya who flourished in the earlier part of the eighth century A.D. This Kumārila is known as Bhaṭṭapāda. He has written Slokavārttika on I. I. of Jaiminīya Mīmāṃsā Darśan and Tantra Vārttika on its 1.2. Besides, he has written Tūptikā on the remaining chapters of the book. These two Vārtikas of Kumārila have been written on Bhāṣyaratnākar and an old Vārttik not known to or mentioned by Śavara.

Kumārila
Bhaṭṭa and
his school.

Prabhākara—He is popularly known as Guru Prabhākara. This Probhākara it is believed, was a disciple of Kumārila. This

view is corroborated by Śarva Siddhānta Saṅgraha of Śaṅkarācāryya. This Śaṅkar according to Gangānāth Jhā is not our famous Āchārya Śaṅkara. He placed Prabhākara before Kumārila. Śalikanatha, was a disciple of Prabhākara, and he has refuted the opinion of Kumārila. The Verse^s of Prabodhacandrodaya seem to give in chronological order the names of Prabhākara, Kumārila, Śaṅkar and Vāchaspati. It is said that Kumārila some times asked the opinion of Prabhākara, his disciple, in some controversial point and accepted his decision. So he is called Guru or Bhaṭṭa Guru. Some say that Śālik Prabhākara's disciple has referred to him as Guru and hence the title. According to Gangānāth Jhā the title is due to the elaborate tīkā of Prabhākara. Prabhākara has written two tīkāś—बृहत्तमै and लघुतमै on Śavara-Bhāṣya.

Māṇḍana Miśra was at first a student of the Mīmāṃsā school. Being defeated by Śaṅkarācāryya, he became a follower of Vedānta and became known as Śureśvarācāryya. He

1. “नीनांसावार्त्तिकं भाट्टं भट्टाचार्यकृतं हि तत्”

तच्छिष्योऽत्यभेदेन श्वरस्य मतान्तरम् ।

प्रभाकरगुरुत्वं तद्धि प्रामाण्यं मतम् ॥

2. नैवात्रावि गुरो भूतं न विदितं तौतात्तिकं दर्शनम् ।

तत्तज्ज्ञानमहो न शारिकागिरां वाचस्पतेः का कथा ॥

possibly flourished in the latter part of the eighth century or the earlier part of the ninth century A.D. He composed two books विधि-विद्वेक and मोमांसावृत्तमणी on the मोमांसा philosophy; these are expositions of Bhaṭṭa's school of Philosophy. Pārtha Sārathi Miśra is also a great student of Bhaṭṭa's school and flourished towards the close of the ninth century A.D. His शास्त्रद्वैपिका, तन्त्राक्षर and व्याख्यानमाला are three fine works on the मोमांसा philosophy. Besides, he wrote a comment on sloka Vārttik known as व्याख्यानकर. Towards the close of the sixth century A.D. अण्णय्यदोषि composed विधिरसायन with its tikā सुखपयोजिनी. Gopal Bhaṭṭa and Sankar Bhaṭṭa wrote respectively विधिरसायनभूषण and विधिरसायनदूषण about the same time. In the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. अण्णदेव wrote मोमांसा व्याख्यानप्रकाश and लागाचि भास्कर, अर्थसंग्रह. विश्वेश्वर भट्ट or popularly called गंगा भट्ट wrote Bhaṭṭa Cintāmaṇi. Besides, भाट्टद्वैपिका, मोमांसा कौस्तुभ and भाट्टरहस्य of Khaṇḍa Dev, काशिका of Sucarit Miśra, मोमांसा परिभाषा of Kṛṣṇa Dikṣit भाट्टभाषा of नारदयणतौष; पूर्वमोमांसाकारिका of Ballabhācārya, मोमांसा पादुका of Benkatnāth etc. deserve mention here.

Several other works on the system and their commentaries.

Bhabanāth :—He was a famous student of the Prabhākar school. In his 'Nyāya Viveka' he has explained clearly the substance of

Bhabanāth.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

प्रकरण पश्चिना by Śāliknāth and his opinion as well.

Rāmānuj—Ācārya Rāmānuj also was a student of the Prabhākara school. His तन्त्राद्वय is a famous exposition of that school. In course of time the school of Prabhākara dwindled into insignificance and the school of Bhaṭṭa occupied an prominent position.

VEDĀNTA

Uttara-mīmāṃsā is a sequel to Pūrva-mīmāṃsā. This is clear from the very opening aphorism “अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा” while in the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā the book begins with अथातो वसं जिज्ञासा.” This philosophy is popularly known as Vedānta Darśan. The whole of the ब्रह्मसूत्र made by Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa is based entirely upon the Upaniṣads representing the Jñānakāṇḍa of the Vedas. The 555 aphorisms of the Vedānta are divided into 4 lectures or chapters, each containing four pādas or sections. In the first chapter attempts have been made to ascertain the state of Brahma from Vedic texts, direct or indirect. In the second अद्वैतवाद has been established by refuting the fundamental doctrines of other schools of philosophy and especially those of Sāṃkhya. The third chapter deals with creation and adoration of Brahma. And the fourth concludes that Brahma is the real Entity and that perfect peace depends on its clear recognition.

Uttara-
mīmāṃsā—
its subject
matter.

Vyāsa is said to be the propounder of this system. But the greatest champion of this philosophic system is the great Śaṅkara who

Vyāsa and
Śaṅkara

introduced मय into the whole body of Vedantic arguments.

According to this system there is neither creation nor creator. Every thing visible is the Vivarta of Brahma. This is caused by Māyā which emanates from Brahma and covers all that we see. This Māyā consists of the three guṇas and to destroy it is the end of human life. So we see that the Vedantic doctrine is rigidly monistic and dualistic. The individual souls are really part and parcel of this one Brahma as different sparks are of one fire. When the coating of Māyā fully wears off individual differences too entirely disappear.

Doctrine of
vedānta

Śaṅkara in his well-known commentary on the Vedānta Sūtrās, called the Śārīraka Bhāṣyam, proves this doctrine to a satisfactory conclusion and justifies its arguments by constant references to the Upaniṣads upon the interpretations whereof he bases his reasonings. Some say that Māyā is not a doctrine of the Upaniṣads but it has been introduced by Śaṅkarā. But it is not true. Śaṅkaar's preceptor's preceptor Gauḍapāda has fully dealt with this Māyā in his Kārikās on Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad. Besides, there is sufficient proof in the Vedas themselves that Māyā is the agent to create this external world. There are many divisions and sub-divisions

Śaṅkara and
his commen-
tary.

amongst the commentators of the Brahma Sūtra We shall give below the substance of the opinion of some of the important schools.

(1) Nirbiseṣādvaitavāda

Saṅkrācārya—Sankara is the champion of this school. It is believed by many that he flourished towards the close of the seventh or in the beginning of the eighth century. A. D * He was born at Kālādi, a village in the province of Keral in Madras. He read philosophy and other scriptures with Govinda Pāda, a disciple of Gouda Pāda and finished the course of his studies at the age of sixteen. With a view to propagate Hindu religion and philosophy he roamed over the whole of India and defeated many Buddhist Pandits and others who held different views from him. To speak the truth, the eternal Brāhmaṇya religion revived through his utmost zeal and endeavour. He erected four great Maṭhas on the four points of India to guard Vedic religion from the hands of those who profess religion contrary to the Vedas. These maṭhas are known as Śrīngary, Sārādā, Joṣi or Jyotiḥ and Govardhana.

Śaṅkara and
his school.

Saṅkarācārya's Sārīraka Bhyāṣya has wrought a wonder in the world. Before him

Saṅkara
Bhāṣya.

* Maxmüller and Kṛṣṇa Swāmī Ayer place him between 788—820 A. D. Bāla Gangadhar Tilaka take the time of Śaṅkar to be between 688—720. This view has been accepted by many other scholars.

too Brahma Sūtra has been explained by Ācaryas of whom, the name of venerable Upavarṣa has been mentioned by him. His view goes by the name of Advaitavāda.

Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya has been commented by many a scholar; of these the name of Vācaspati Miśra stands predominant. His comment on Śaṅkara Bhāṣya is called Bhāmātī. It not only explains the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara but supplies new materials which that fell short in Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya.

According to some commentators the commentary derives its name from 'Bhāmātī' the wife of Vācaspati. But there is no proof to corroborate it. Towards the close of the commentary Vācaspati has written तस्मिन् नहीये नहनीयकीर्त्तिं नौतन् दृगेकारि नया प्रवन्दः। It is not yet settled who this Nṛga was and when he flourished. According to Vindheswari Prosād Drivedi, he was a king of Chohan family and flourished in the tenth century A. D. But the general consensus of opinion is that Vācaspati flourished in 841 A. D. In the thirteenth century A. D. Amalānanda Sarasvatī wrote 'Kalpataru' a commentary on Bhāmātī, which was again commented by Appaya Dikṣit in the eighteenth century under the name of Parimal. We have again a tikā on Śaṅkara Bhāṣya called 'Ratna Prabhā' by Govindānanda.

Time of
Vācaspati
Miśra.

Various
other com-
mentaries.

and another called Bhāṣya Nyāya Nirṇaya by A'nanda Giri. Pañca Pādika is an incomplete commentary on Śāṅkara Bhāṣya by Padma Pādācārya. Prakāśātmā has written a commentary known as Pañca Pādika Vivaraṇa. 'Naiṣkarma Siddhi' of Sureśvarācārya is a famous work on the Advaita system.

A versical treatise styled Saṅkṣep Sārīraka by Sarvajñātmā gives briefly the substance of S'ārīraka Bhāṣya. Besides, the Khaṇḍana Khaḍa Khāḍya of Sree Harṣa (1190 A. D.), Pratyaktattva dīpika of Citsukha and पञ्चदशी, जीवन-सुक्ति-विवेक and अनुभूति-प्रकाश of विद्यारण्य-मुनि of the fourteenth century are important works on the system.

Some works
on the
system.

The Vedānta Paribhāṣā of Dharmarāja-dhvarindra, Advaita Siddhi of Madhusūdan Sarasvatī, Vedāntasāra of Sadānanda Jogindra, and Vedānta Siddhānta Muktaḥvali of Prakāśananda also deserve mention in this connection.

(2) Viśiṣṭādvaita Vāda.

Jamunācārya—About two hundred years after the birth of Śāṅkara, Jamunācārya was born at Mādura in 953 A. D. In his famous work 'Siddhi Traya' he has tried to refute the view of Śāṅkara. In his opinion though individual soul is a part and parcel of Absolute Soul still there is a line of demarkation between these two.

Rāmānuja's
predecessor.

Rāmānuja
and his
school.

Rāmānuja—He was born in 1016 A. D. in the Deccan. He is the champion of this school. His Bhāṣya on the Brahma Sūtra is known as Śrībhāṣya. He has tried to prove that the individual soul, the world and God, though separate entities, yet the former two constitute the body of the last. According to him the individual soul is *Atm* while, God is *Bibhu*. Individual souls are part and parcel of God, the receptacle of all.

He has explained the Philosophy in the light of devotion and himself sticks to the views of Pañcarātra. For the purpose of elucidating his views he has written *Vedārtha Saṁgraha*, *Vedānta Pradīpa* and *Gadyatraya*. The work *Vedāntatattvasāra* is also attributed to him. Of the Ācāryas who supported this view, Rāmānuja has mentioned the names of Vadhāyana, Droṇīr, Guhadev, Kapardī and others.

Rāmānuja's
view.

Srutaprakāśika, a Commentary on Rāmānuja's Śrībhāṣya by Sudarśan is a good work. Veṅkatanātha's *Satadūsanī* and *Tattva Tikā* on Śrībhāṣya are important works on the system. *Tattva Sāra* of Varadācārya and *Tattva Muktvāvalī* of Puṇṇānanda Kavi Cakravortī also deserve mention here. Appaya Dīkṣit (1552-1624 A. D.) also wrote a commentary on Veṅkata's work.

Commentaries on
the system.

Śrīkaṇṭha—Śrīkaṇṭh acknowledges the tattvas—Iśvara, Jīva and Jagat. He flourished after Saṅkara and before Bhojarāja. He wrote a bhāṣya on the Brahma Sūtra, which was commented by Appayya Dikṣit under the name Śivārka-Manīdīpikā.

Śrīkaṇṭha
and his
school.

(4) *Bhedāveda Vāda*

or

Dualism-Monism.

Bhāskārācārya—He was the champion of this school, though Oudulomi long before him accepted this doctrine. The latter acknowledges duality when Jīvas are under bondage, but monism when he severs it. Vāskārācārya was prior to Vācaspati Miśra and Udayanācārya and flourished in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. He received the title of Vidyāpati from Mihir, the king of Bhoja. According to Vardhamāna, Vāskara, the astronomer was sixth in descent from this Vāskara.

Bhāskara and
his school.

Nimbārka, though a follower of the above school, differs materially from Vāskara. According to him there is distinction and sameness between Jīva and Brahma irrespective of the state of bondage or freedom. His bhāṣya on the Brahma Sūtra is known as Vedānta

Nimbārka.

Pārijāta Saurabha. He quotes in it the views of Sanatkumar and Nārada in support of his views. Śrīnivāsa wrote a *tikā* on it called Vedānta Kaustubha. This again has been commented on by Kesava Bhaṭṭa of Kāśmīra. Vallabhācārya—He was born in 1479 A.D. Like Rāmānuja and Madhvācārya he follows the path of Vaiṣṇavism and takes Jīva as a part of Brahma, as spark is of fire. His bhāṣya on Brahma Sūtra is called *Āṇu*. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣan's Govinda bhāṣya is also of the similar nature.

Vallabhā-
cārya.

(5) *Dualism.*

Ānandatīrtha was the founder of this view. He is popularly known as Pūrṇaprajña and his philosophy as Pūrṇaprajña Darśan. He was born in 1197 A.D. and died in 1276 A.D. His bhāṣya on Brahma Sūtra is called Tattva Viveka. He wrote besides *Anuvyākhyān* in verses to elucidate the meaning of Brahma Sūtra. Trivikram, one of his disciples wrote a *tikā* on Tattva Viveka called Tattva Dipikā, while Padmanābha, his another disciple wrote a *tikā*, Sannyāsa Ratnāvalī, on Anuvyākhyān.

Ānanda-
tīrtha.

THE CĀRVĀKA SYSTEM.

The Cārvākas acknowledge *Pratyakṣa* to be the only source of true knowledge. According to them earth, water, fire and air are the four elements and *self* is nothing but the body endowed with consciousness. The above-mentioned elements combined in a certain way give rise to the body. Consciousness springs from this combination. This being a product of structural combination, it vanishes along with the dissolution of the body. They do not recognise life after death. Hopes of reward and threats of punishment are but empty words invented by deceitful priesthood. The king on earth is the man to punish and reward and we are to take into account the pleasures and pains we undergo in this life. They may be called Hedonists in the language of Ethics. But as matter of true materialism, extreme Hedonism and Atheism have been blended in this curious system.

Essence of
the System

An independent treatise on the *Cārvāka Philosophy* is now hardly available. This system has been stated briefly in the *Mahābhārata*, *Matsya Purāṇa* &c. *Sāyaṇa* Madhava has given a summary of it in his *Sarvadarsana Saṅgraha*. The readers are also referred to the *Bhāṅkara Bhāṣya*, *Bhāmati*, and *Muir Journal Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. XII.

Works
on the
Cārvāka
system.

THE JAINA PHILOSOPHY.

This system is a very ancient one and it would not be improper to say that Buddhism was its offspring.

The Jainas defy the authority of the Vedas and reject the Vedic rites. They do not believe in the existence of a creator but acknowledge the existence of soul which can be liberated. Arhats or Jinas are those whose soul have been liberated. These Jinas are twenty four in number.

They recognise two chief categories, namely. (i) *Jīva*, and (ii) *Ajīva*. The one is the object of fruition (*Bhogyā*) and the other is the enjoyer (*Bhoktā*).* *Mokṣa* or salvation consists in liberating the *Soul* from the fetters of work.

The Jainas acknowledge only two means of proof—*perception* and *inference*. Pleasure or pain cannot constitute the nature of *ātma*.

Human beings are of three kinds—The perfected beings, the beings in bondage and the sufferers in hell. Bodies with organs are made up of ultimate atoms called *pudgalas*.

* For the subdivisions of these and the principles of the system, see the original philosophy.

The Jaina system

Jinas.

Categories.

Evidence.

Nature of soul

Kinds of men.

The *Yogins* do not cause pain to the living world. They are naked and free from stains. They carry the feathers of peacocks in their hands, eat out of their hands, *have their hair cut* and are engaged in silent meditation.

Jaina
ascetics.

Of the books on the system now available, the *A'ptaniścayālamkāra* of A'rhatcandra Suri, the *Vitarāga Stuti*, *Sādvāda Mañjarī*, &c. are important.

Works.

*The Bauddha Philssophy.**

There are four different schools of this system—Mādhyamika, Yogācarā, Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika. Though they differ in several important particulars, there are some points in which they all agree. These are :—

Four differ-
rent schools
of the
system.

(a) They recognise two kinds of evidence—perception and inference as the source of true knowledge.

Evidence

(b) "The world" say the Buddhists, "is full of miseries."

Nature of
the world.

(c) To remove these miseries one has to go to the root of the evil. These are due to *avidyā* and to eradicate this, one should try to know the real nature of the world. For this purpose the Buddhists prescribe four kinds of meditation called *Bhāvanā*—(1) Every thing is momentary, (2) The world is full of miseries,

Means of
extirpating
worldly
sorrow.

* To have a grasp of the system see Wilson's Essays, Vol. 1. Stephenson's Kalpa Sutra; Weber's Śatruñjaya Māhātmya and Cowel's Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha.

- (3) There are no two like things in the world,
 (4) Every thing is empty or unreal. These
 being properly pursued the world ceases to
 produce its baneful effects upon man.

The Mādhyamikas:

Mādhy-
mika
School.

The *intellect* is nothing but *consciousness* itself. According to the Mādhyamikas this consciousness too does not exist in reality. "The ultimate principle" says this school, "is not existent, nor nonexistent, nor existent-and-non-existent, nor different from both." So the ultimate principle is outside the scope of the above four alternatives. There are no such things as constitute generic and specific con-figurations of characteristics. This school, to say in brief, discusses the ultimate principle of *nothingness*.

Yogācāras

Yogācāra
School.

The Yogācāras maintain that consciousness exists quite independently of the external objects and thus refutes the theory of *nothingness*. The nature of consciousness is indivisible. There is only one thing in reality—the self-luminous consciousness. In spite of its varied manifestations the oneness is not destroyed. For instance, the body of a pretty young woman is viewed by a religious ascetic, an amorous man and a dog in three different ways. Consciousness, though fleeting and momentary, is yet differentiated in three ways by deluded persons.

Sautrāntikas.

According to this system there exist both the external and the internal worlds, for there can be no knowledge excepting the object of knowledge and that it is not directly perceived but inferred from certain states of consciousness. There are only five organs of sense and never six, to perceive *colour*, &c. The Sautrāntikas declare that the element *ākāśa* is the ultimate atom having a motion only and nothing else. Everything is momentary in point of existence and is the result of the manifestation of consciousness.

Sautrān-
tika
School.

Vaibhāṣikas.

The Vaibhāṣikas like the Sautrāntikas acknowledge the existence of the external world. The external world is nothing but the aggregate of thousands of ultimate atoms and it is directly perceived.

Vaibhā-
ṣika
School.

Those that take their stand on *buddhi* are called Buddhas. The function of this is of two kinds—*cognitional* and *non-cognitional*. The correct apprehension of truth is dependent on the cognitional consciousness. The other *i. e.*, the non-cognitional consciousness in the shape of *skandha*, *āyatana* and *dhātus* springs from *avidyā*. The whole collection of the extended objects is the body constituting the world; there are five *skandhas*, twelve *āyatanas* and eighteen *dhātus*.

Explanation
of the term
buddha.

Skanḍha.

Skanḍha means a group. The five Skanḍhas are—Jñāna, Saṃskāra, Saṃjñā, Vedanā and Rūpa. The Vijnānaskandha is only a series of jñānas. The aggregate of the innate impressions of merits and demerits is known as Saṃsāra skanḍha. The Vedanā Skanḍha is what constitutes pleasure and pain, &c, and the desire as well. The Saṃjñā skanḍha is is but the appellation of things and the Rūpa-skandha is the collection of embodied things.*

The Buddhists do not acknowledge existence of God. The views of the four schools stated above may be compared with those of (1) Hume, (2) Berkeley or M.L., (3) Brown, and (4) Hamilton respectively.

THE SAIYA AND PASUPATA DOCTRINES

Saiya and
Pasupata
systems.

According to these systems God is the efficient cause of this universe. God and jiva are different from one another. The former is omniscient and omnipotent, while the latter is ignorant and weak. The practice of yoga as instructed by God acquires power and extinguishes pain.

* For the account of Ignorance and desire see the original philosophy.

Exercise.

1. State what you know as to the sources of our knowledge of the Sankhya system. Give a brief account of the main Sankhya tenets (1909 P.).

2. Give a concise account of the doctrine taught in the two Mimāṃsās. (Hon. 1912).

3. Give the cardinal doctrines of Hindu Philosophy and give an account of the Sāṃkhya System. (1918 pass).

4. Give an account of the Nirukta (1919 Hons.)

5. Write what you know of the Dharma Sūtras and their contents. (1920 Hons.).

6. Give a brief account of the six systems of Hindu Philosophy. (1921 Pass).

7. What are the main doctrines of the Sāṃkhya System of Philosophy? Name the important works dealing with this philosophy. (1921 Hons.).

8. Describe briefly the influence of the Sāṃkhya System on the religious and philosophic life of India. (1922 p.) 19'4 p.

9. Write what you know about the materialistic school of the Cārvākas. (1924 p.)

10. Give an account of the principal Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras and the light they throw on the domestic and social life in ancient India. (1924 Hons.)

11. Discuss the sources of our knowledge of the Sāṃkhya System and give a brief account of its principal tenets and its influence on other systems. (1924 Hons.)

12. Write an essay on the doctrines taught in the two Mīmāṃsās. (1925 Hons.)

13. Give an account of any one system of Indian Philosophy, noting clearly its central doctrines. (1926 Hon.)

14. What are the grounds for supposing that Yoga doctrine is very old? (1927 Hons.)

15. Give a short account of the Yoga system of Hindu Philosophy. (1928 p.)

16. Give a a brief outline of the peilosophy of the Lokayata Scool. (1928 Hons.)

17. Discuss the meaning of the word Tantra and the types into which it may be classified ? (1934 Hons.)

18. Write short notes on the six Vedangas.

19. Give a short history of the Upavedas.

20. Give a short description of the soma sacrifices.

21. What do you know of Charaka and Susruta.

THE EPICS (2000—300 B. C.)

Epic poetry, as distinguished from lyrical, is characterised by the fact that it confines itself more to external action than to internal feelings. As the nation grows up in ideas and civilisation and naturally begins to reason and to speculate, its mind turns inward, putting a stop to the spontaneous outburst of epic, the natural expression of national life. Other kinds of refined poetry more artificial and of laborious style step in.

Epic poetry

The epic poems flourished side by side with some later vedic works, such as by the Brāhmaṇs and the Sūtras, when vedic traditions were still fresh in the memory of people. The beginning of epic poetry may be traced to the vedic songs. So epic poetry must have been composed in the pre-Buddhistic era, at a period not later than 2000 B. C.

origin of epic poetry.

The post-Vedic literature differs from the Vedic broadly in the following four points.

(1) *Subject-matter* —Vedic literature is essentially religious, while Sanskrit literature is mainly secular. The religion itself has gone under modification. The vedic gods have sunk to a subordinate position, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu

Subject matter contrasted with vedic literature.

and Siva, forming the Hindu Trinity, have become the chief objects of worship. Besides, many minor gods, such as, Kuvera, Ganeśa, Kārtikeya etc. have been introduced.

(2) *Spirit*—The early Vedic literature is optimistic, while the Sanskrit literature beginning with the Upaniads is almost always pessimistic. The Vedic Ṛṣis were bold and frank and they had not the least doubt in their mind regarding the beneficial character of gods and the cheerfulness they would attain in the life to come. In short, they took a cheerful view of life. But in the classical period people began to take a gloomy view of life. They considered their very existence to be full of evils and deliverance from the series of rebirth and interminable misery was thought to be *summum bonum* of life. Pessimism is erroneously ascribed to the influence of the doctrine of transmigration which is a universal tenet of all Indian religions and philosophical systems up to the present time. It is seen even now that the Viṣṇu sects are, more or less, optimistic.

Spirit contrasted with the vedic literature.

(3) *Want of essence and harmony*—The post-vedic literature is also marked by a tendency to exaggeration and excessive diffuseness of style. The defective sense of proportion is best illustrated by the huge bulk of the

Mahābhārat which contains about 200,000 lines.

(4) *The form*—Metrical form prevailed in earlier Vedic literature which was subsequently superseded by prose during the Brāhmaṇa and Aupaniṣadic age. The earliest sanskrit works, save and except grammatical and philosophical treatises and a few collections of fables and romances, were written in metrical forms. The difference in form, between Vedic and Sanskrit literature, is the difference in vocabulary and grammatical forms. Besides, there is difference of style also. The style of Vedic literature is simple, whereas that of classical Sanskrit is highly artificial, owing to the frequent use of long compounds and application of elaborate rules of rhetoric.

Form contrasted with the vedic literature.

CLASSES OF EPICS

There are mainly two classes of epic poetry—the one comprises the old stories that go by the name of Itihāsa, Ākhyāna and Purāṇa and the other falls under the province of Kāvya or artificial epic. The Mahābhārata is the representative of the former group, while the Rāmāyaṇa is that of the latter.

Classes of Epics.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATAM.

The Mahābhārata which has come down to us in its present form contains over 100,000 slokas. It is divided into 18 books called parvans with Harivaṃśa, the 19th which is consi-

The Mahābhārata.

dered to be its *Khila* or complement. All these 18 books excepting the 8th and the last three are divided into subsections or *Anu-parvans*. Each book again is divided into chapters or *Adhyāyas*. The 12th book is the longest with about 14000 ślokas and the seventeenth is the shortest with only 123 ślokas.* It is the longest poem known to literary history and the source of all the Purāṇas.

Name of the Parvas. The Parvas are the Ādi, Sabthā, Vana, Virāta, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karna, Śalya, Sautika, Strī, Śānti, Anuśāśana, Aśvamedha, Āśramavāsika, Mausala. Mahāprasthānika and Svargārohaṇa.

The first Parva. The first describes the origin of the sages and royal dynasties connected with the subject matter. Besides this describes the birth of the Pāṇḍavas, Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation, burning of the house of lac, birth of Ghatokaca, marriage of Draupadī, banishment of Arjuna, stealing of Subhadra, burning of khāṇḍava forest etc.

The Second Parva. The second describes the Rājāsūya Sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.

The third Parvā. The third describes the fight of Arjuna with Mahādeva disguised as a kirāta and his acquisition of *paśupata* and other weapons etc., defeat of Citraratha by Arjuna to rescue Durjodhana and his family from the former's hands etc.

* The Vangavāsī edition has only 110 ślokas. The Parvādhyāya parva speaks of 123 ślokas in it.

The fourth narrates how the Pāṇḍavas lived in the house of Virāta, how Kicaka was killed by Bhīma and the cows of Virāta were rescued from Duryodhana and his party by Arjuna. It further describes the marriage of Uttara with Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna.

The fourth
Parva.

The fifth narrates the preparation for the great war, the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth describe war under the leadership of Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karna and Śalya respectively.

Parvas
5th to 9th

The tenth describes how Asvathāmā killed the five sons of the five Pāṇḍavas and presented their heads to Duryodhana who seeing those breathed his last. The eleventh depicts the wailing of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī and others, the breaking of the iron image of Bhīma to pieces by Dhṛtarāṣṭra etc. and śradh ceremony of those who died in the greatwar.

The tenth
and the eleventh
Parvas.

The twelfth deals with various topics specially with *Dharma* and *Mokṣa*. The thirteenth also is of similar nature and speaks of the division of wealth, hybrid castes, spiritualism and various tales to illustrate those with reference to men, beasts and birds.

The twelfth
and the thirteenth
Parvas.

The fourteenth also has description of various tales and the Asvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. The fifteenth describes penetration of Dhṛtarāṣṭra with Gāndhārī into forest and the arrival of Nārada.

The fourteenth and
the fifteenth
Parvas.

Parvas 16th
to 18th.

The sixteenth describes how an iron club was produced and the Yādavas were killed fighting with one another. The next chapter narrates the final journey of the Pāṇḍavas and the last the reaching of heaven by Yudhiṣṭhira.

Source of the
Mahābhārata.

The old disconnected battle songs about the ancient Kuru and Pāñchāla heroes were undoubtedly the historical background for the original kernel of the epic. These, at a later time, were worked up by Vyāsa into an epic narrating the fate of the Kauravas, on the one hand and that of the Pāṇḍavas on the other. The Kurus and the Pāñchālas were finally coalesced into a single people. In the Yajurveda they appear to be united and in the Kāthaka saṃhitā Dhṛtarāṣṭra is mentioned to be a well-known person. The present form of the Mahābhārata contained some matters which do not belong to the original. These are the verses said by *Sauti*. The portion recited by Vaiśampāyana, a disciple of Vyāsa, in the *Snake-sacrifice* of Janamejaya is the real Mahābhārata.

Three
stages of
the book.

"It is seen in the book I" say some scholars (both Eastern and Western) "that the poem originally consisted of 24,000 ślokas. The episodes were added afterwards." "It is also seen" say they "that the epic had once 8,800 ślokas and three distinct beginnings."* The

* सन्नादि भारतं केचिदास्तीकादि तथा परे
तथोपरिचरादन्वे विप्राः सम्यगधीयते ॥ १।१।५२

above facts made them jump to the conclusion that the epic had undergone three stages of development before it assumed its present form. Besides, they are of opinion that it was written by different hands at different times. There are scholars again who think that it was Vyāsa who composed the epic but in his life time he revised the work four times and made necessary additions and alterations. These they hold as a ground for disagreement regarding the number of verses and the Parvans as said by Sauti in the chapter called the Parva Samgraha chapter.

The book
is not a
work of one
man—its
refutation.

The old disconnected battle songs, as said before, about the ancient Kuru and Pāñcāla heroes were undoubtedly worked up by some poetic genius into an epic narrating the fate of the Kauravas on the one hand and that of the Pāṇḍavas on the other by about 24000 verses. Brahmā was regarded as the highest deity in this period and this must have therefore preceded the Buddha era. It is the first stage.

The first
stage.

Handed down by rhapsodists, the body of the epic in the second stage got unusually swelled up. The extension of the original epic must have taken place after 300 B. C. and by the beginning of the Christian era. That the sectarian division was already well established is corroborated by Megasthenes' account wherein mention is made of Hindu temples and

The second
stage.

Buddhistic mounds. It is also corroborated by the reference to the Yavanas and Pahlavas along with Śakas and Parthians. Besides, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu also became prominent deities of this period. Kṛṣṇā appears here as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The third stage

Many didactic matters were introduced into it in the third stage by the Brāhmaṇas and thus it assumed the character of a vast treatise on duty. Its divine origin and the eternity of the caste-system were also laid down. Its origin is attributed to Vyāsa implying a belief in its final redaction.

Sauti's account of the Mahābhārata.

We cannot agree fully with these statements. It would be safe to rely on what has been said by Sauti in the Anukramaṇikā Parvādhyāya. He has given there a full account of the Mahābhārata nicely, though very briefly. Let us examine the following ślokas uttered by him.

अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।
 अहं वेद्मि युक्तो वेत्ति सज्जयो वेत्ति वा नवा ॥
 तत् श्लोककूटमद्यापि यथितं सुदृढं मुने ।
 भक्तुं न शक्यतेऽयस्य गूढत्वात् प्रश्रितस्य च ॥
 सर्वज्ञोऽपि गणेशो यत् क्षणमास्ते विचारयन् ।
 तावच्चकार व्यासीऽपि श्लोकानन्यान् वल्लभान् ॥ १।१।८१—८३
 विस्तारं कुरुवंशस्य गान्धार्या धर्मशैलताम् ॥
 अक्षुः प्रज्ञां धृतिं कुन्त्याः सम्यग् द्वैपायनोऽब्रवीत् ।
 वासुदेवस्य नाहात्मं पाण्डवानाञ्च सत्यताम् ॥
 दुर्धनं धार्तराष्ट्रान्मुक्तवान् भगवानृषिः ।
 इदं श्लोकसहस्रन्तु लोकांनां पुण्यकर्माणाम् ॥

उपाख्यानैः सहज्यमाद्यं भारतमुत्तमम् ।
 चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रौ चक्रौ भारतमहिताम् ॥
 उपाख्यानैर्विना तावत् भारतं प्रीच्यते बुधैः । १।१।२६—१०२
 अनुक्तमणिकाव्यायं वृत्तान्तानां सपर्वणाम् ॥
 षष्टिं शतसहस्राणि चकारान्यां स संहिताम् ।
 त्रिंशच्छतसहस्रञ्च देवलीके प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥
 पित्रे पञ्चदश प्रीक्तं गन्धर्वेषु चतुर्दश ।
 एकं शतसहस्रन्तु मानुषेषु प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ १।१।२०५—६ ।

A close examination of the above verses would show that Sauti gives a brief history of the great Mahābhārata in the Anukramaṭīkā Chapters. It is found here that the great Mahābhārata once contained 60,00,000 slokas. Of these 30,00,000 are current among gods, 15,00,000 among *manes*, 14,00,000 among Gandhavas and 100,000 among men. This, as is in vogue among Sanskrit writers†, gives a divine origin to the great epic. The only real thing we get here is that our epic contains 100,000 slokas and that it is called the Great Bhārata with legends. Besides, we get that the portion, excluding legends, is called Bhārata or Bhārata Saṃhitā and contains 24000 slokas. Regarding the number 8,800 it is clearly stated that the book contains the above number among many other verses amounting to one hundred thousand and were called Kūtas (or Vyāsa kūtas)

What can
 be gathered
 from the
 verses cited
 by Sauti

† See the opening verses of the Nārada Saṃhitā and the Sukra Nītisāra etc.

because of their mysterious meaning and known only to Vyāsa, the author and his son, Śuka. It was doubtful if these were known to Sañjaya or not. This is said in connection with the legend of Gaṇeśa's becoming the writer of the book.

So, no doubt is left as regards its containing 8,800 verses but they constitute its body. The only thing that remains now to discuss is its three beginnings. The śloka Manvādi or Mantrādi does not speak of the three beginnings but only the mode that was followed in the study of the book. Some schools began from the syllable 'OM', some from the tale of Āstika, while others from the Vasu Uparicara. Thus summing up the above we find that our Mahābhārata from the time of its author had a lac of ślokas, that its 8800 ślokas being very difficult are known as *Kṛtās* and that the nucleus of the book contains 24000 ślokas. Thus the theory that the Mahābhārata passed through the three different stages before it assumed its present stage falls to the ground. There is a class of scholars who agree with those scholars, referred to here-to-fore as to the different stages of the book with this exception only, as said before, that the epic underwent four different stages instead of three and that the book is not a compilation of matters composed by different

Three begin-
nings of the
Mahābhārata

poets at different times but it had been revised and altered four times by Vyāsa himself during his lifetime. In their opinion the book contained only 4 verses in its original form and then developed, stage by stage, containing 8,800, 24,000 and 100,000 in order. Regarding the first stage of the book they base their argument on a verse of the Svargārohan Parva.* The slokas, as my knowledge goes, do not speak of the book consisting of 4 verses but they only state that after the composition of the book, the great sage Vyāsa gave the gist of book to his son Suka in four verses. Other points raised by them have already been discussed and refuted.

The four different stages of the book—these are only different editions with additions and alterations made by the poet himself.

As regards the disagreement of the verses and chapters as said by Sauti, it would suffice to say that Sauti did not mean exactly a lac of slokas by saying that the work consisted of a hundred thousand slokas, but by it he only meant a round number that was more or less, equal to a hundred thousand. The Mahābhārata, as we get it now, contains about 84,000 slokas excluding Harivaṃśa which according to Sauti contained 12,000 slokas and was thought as a part of the Mahābhārta. So practically the book consists of about a lac of slokas in round number. Besides the present Harivaṃśa has about

An explanation of the disagreement of verses with what Sauti had said

* महर्षिर्भयवान् व्यासः कृत्स्नां संहितां पुरा ।
शोकैर्यतुर्भिर्धर्मोक्ता पुनमध्यापयत् युक्ताम् ॥ १८५॥६०

16000 slokas. This being added to the number of slokas found in the original now gives exactly a lac of slokas. The book passed through manuscripts for more than four thousand years and therefore it is not a matter of great wonder that the copyists carried over the previous chapters to the subsequent ones and vice-versa. It is mentioned in the Ādi-parva (52 ch.) that the sage took full three years to compose these verses. It is not at all impossible therefore that an intellectual giant like Vyāsa would compose about 300 slokas a day.*

Many a poet has derived the subject-matter of their books from this

The poet's prophecy regarding his work (1. 92) has come to be true to the letter. † Poet like Bhāravi, Māgha, Rājasekhara and others have taken the burden of their poems from this Mahābhārata. Kṣemendra Vyāsa Dasa made a poetical abstract of the book known as Bharatamanjarī in the 11th century, which is the oldest book of its kind. There are many dramas such as, *Veṇī saṁbhāra*, *Urubhanga* etc. which have their subject matters taken from it.

DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

Kumārila who flourished in the first half of the 8th century A.D. mentions the Mahābhārata in his Tantra Vārttika. The great Vedāntist philosopher Saṅkara who wrote his commentary

* Shelly says that he could write 4 to 5 hundred verses at a stress.

† सर्वेषां कविमुख्यानामुपजीव्यं भविष्यति ।
पञ्च नव द्वयुतानां अक्षयो भारतद्रुमः ।

on the Brahma Sūtra in 700 A. D. refers to the Mahābhārta as a Smṛti.

The famous Sanskrit authors Vāṇa, Subandhu, and others took the burden of their works from the great epic and were acquainted even with the Harivaṃśa which is considered to be its complement. These emphasise the theory that the poet flourished about sixth or seventh century A. D.

Vāṇa, Subandhu and others.

Several land grants, dated between 480 and 500 A. D., quote the Mahābhārata as an authority teaching the rewards of the pious donors and the punishment of impious despoilers. These show that the Mahābhārata attained its present character before the middle of the 5th century.

Land-grants

There are references to Hindu temples and Buddhistic mounds in the epic. The latter proves its priority to the growth of Buddhism.

The Yavanas, Pahlavas and Śakas, who were brought into India by Alexander's conquest in 327 B. C., are mentioned as the allies of the Kurus.

Temples etc

Yavanas etc.

We have seen already that Viṣṇu and Śiva became prominent deities during the so called second stage of the epic. We learn from the account of Megasthenes' that this was the case at about 300 B. C. The above facts go to show that the second stage of development of the epic had taken place before the 4th century B. C.

Megasthenes' account.

Āśvalāyana
Gṛhya
Sūtra,

The Mahābhārata as found in the first stage perhaps came into existence about the 5th century B. C. The mention of the Mahābhārata in Āśvalāyana's Gṛhya Sūtra, composed about 5th century B. C., confirms the above suggestion.

The germ
of the Epic

It is most probable that the original kernel of the epic traces its origin to the ancient conflict between the Kurus and the Pāncālas. Hence the historical germ of the great epic cannot be later than the 10th century B. C. as it is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. According to many oriental scholars the book was composed about 1500 B. C. But the orthodox view is that the book was composed by Vyāsa at the juncture of Dvāpara and Kali which corresponds to about 3000 B. C.

Commenta-
tors.

The best commentator of the Mahābhārata is Nīlakaṇṭha of Mahārāṣṭra. Older than Nīlakaṇṭha is one Arjunamīśra. The earliest extant commentator of the great epic is Sūrya Nārāyaṇa. It is now being commented by M. M. Haridāsa Siddhānta Vāgiśa.

Story of the
Mahābhā-
rata

The epic kernel of the Mahābhārata describes the fight between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas lasting for eighteen days. Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu were two brothers. The former was born blind and so was excluded from the throne in favour of the latter. Pāṇḍu having died, Yudhiṣṭhira, his eldest son, was

taken as heir. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, managed by dice-play to banish the Pāṇḍavas, the rightful heirs to the throne, for twelve years and one year more in *incognito* and took the reins of Government in his own hands. The term of exile being over the Pāṇḍavas returned and asked for their throne, but Duryodhana, in spite of Sri Kṛṣṇa's negotiations, was not ready to return even the slightest bit of land without fight. No alternative being left, the Pāṇḍavas declared war against the Kauravas. Both the parties arrayed their soldiers, numbering 18 *akṣauhini*s in the famous field of Kurukṣetra and there ensued the great Bhārata war wherein all the Kṣatriya heroes of India and other countries, took the side of one or the other. The goddess of victory smiled upon the Pāṇḍavas. At the end of the battle there were but five souls alive and the world was rendered heroless.

Episodes of the Mahābhārata.

The episodes of the Mahābhārata are numerous. Of these those of Śakuntalā, Rāma, R̥ṣya-sṛṅga, Ousīnara Śivi, the abduction of Draupadī, Sāvitrī and Nala are famous.

1. Śakuntalā :—Once Duṣyanta, a descendant of Puru, went a-hunting in the penance-grove of Kaṇva. There he saw Śakuntalā watering the plants of the grove with her female

Story of
Śakuntalā.

friends. The king fell in love with her at first sight. On his approach to them, he knew that Kaṇva was away from the hermitage and the duty of hospitality was entrusted to Śakuntālā, his foster-child. Duṣyanta married her secretly in the Gandharva way and left the hermitage before the sage came. After the departure of the king when Śakuntālā was absorbed in his thought, the Grim Sage Durvāsā appeared on the scene and demanded hospitality, but his words fell on the deaf ears of Śakuntālā. Upon this the sage flew into a rage and cursed her that the king for whom she neglected her duty would not be able to remember her without seeing the ring he had given her as a keep-sake at the time of separation. Śakuntālā later on became big with child and the sage knowing the cause of this through meditation resolved to send her to the king. Śakuntālā on her way to Duṣyanta's place lost the ring and was rejected by the king. She was then borne away to heaven by Menakā, her mother. It so happened that a fisherman was charged with the theft of a royal ring. When this was reported to the king, he summoned the man to his presence to know how he had come by it. At once the story of Śakuntālā awoke into his memory and he felt very sad. Then Mātali, the charioteer of Indra, came down from heaven and informed Duṣyanta that his help

was required by Indra for killing a demon. The king at once started for heaven and defeated the demon in fight. On his way back from heaven he met Sakuntalā with her son Bharata in the hermitage of Kāśyapa and was reunited with her.

2. Rāma—Rāma the eldest son of King Dasaratha of Ayodhyā, married Sītā, daughter of Janaka of Mithilā. Dasaratha granted Kaikeyi two boons, when he was pleased with her services before. Kaikeyi now asked for those two boons. She wanted that by these two Rāma should be banished for fourteen years and Bharata her son ascend the throne. Rāma accordingly left the kingdom with his brother Lakṣmaṇa and his wife Sītā and dwelt for some time in the Dandakā forest. Sītā was stolen away by Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king of Laṅkā (Ceylon). Rāma, making alliance with Sugrīva, Hanumān and other chiefs of Kīṣkindhyā, made for Laṅkā and having killed Rāvaṇa in the battle rescued Sītā. He then came back to Ayodhyā and became king.

3. R̥ṣyaśṛṅga :—R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, son of the sage Vibhāṇḍaka was engaged as a priest by king Lomapāda to do a sacrifice when there was a drought in his kingdom. R̥ṣyaśṛṅga produced rain and was rewarded with the hand of Śāntā whom Lomapāda took as adopted daughter from Dasaratha, his friend. Then

Story of
Rāma

Story of
R̥ṣyaśṛṅga

the sage being invited by Daśaratha had gone to his capital and performed *Putreṣṭi* sacrifice for him. This resulted in the birth of Rāma and his brothers.

Story of
Śivi.

4. Śivi :—King Śivi, son of Uśinara, was famous for his munificence. It is said that Indra and Fire god (Agni) in the guise of a hawk and a falcon respectively appeared before the king to test him. The pigeon for fear of its life took shelter with the king, whereupon the hawk asked the king to give him it as his food. The king thereupon was ready to give the hawk some flesh from his own body equal in weight to that of the pigeon instead. At last he to keep his words was ready to sacrifice his own life even. Thereupon Indra and Agni took their respective forms and praised the king highly for his virtuous deeds and went away.

Stealing of
Draupadī
by Jaya-
dratha.

5. Abduction of Draupadī—When Draupadī was living in exile with the Pāṇḍavas in the Ramyaka forest, Jayadratha, king of Sindhu, fell in love with her at her sight. Once when Draupadī was alone in the cottage he took her forcibly on his chariot and began to flee away. The Pāṇḍavas on their return found the cottage empty and following Jayadratha in hot haste killed his body guards. Then they took hold of Jayadratha and insulted him in various ways. And the Pāṇḍavas returned with Draupadī to their cottage.

Story of
Sāvitri and
Satyavān.

6. Sāvitri—Sāvitri, the only daughter of King Asvapati of Madra, was famous for her beauty and virtue. She being ordered by her father to choose a husband for herself went with the ministers and selected Satyavāna, son of king Dyumatsena of Salya, who, defeated by his enemies, took abode in the forest and lived the life of a hermit. Nārada, the divine sage, protested against this marriage as Satyavāna was doomed to die after a year. Sāvitri, who gave her heart to Satyavāna was obstinate and so the king gave his consent to it. They were soon married. Satyavāna's span of life was decreasing. Sāvitri took a vow called *Three-nights* and after its completion followed Satyavāna when he was going to collect sacrificial fuel in a forest. There while chopping a dry bough he felt uneasy and lay down placing his head on the lap of Sāvitri. Yama appeared on the scene to take the life of Satyavāna but seeing her unflinching devotion to her husband promised her three boons. By virtue of one of these her father-in-law got back his eyes and by another he was restored to his kingdoms. By the third she was to be the mother of a hundred sons. By this third boon the *God of death* was checkmated and he gave Satyavāna back to Sāvitri. Then they lived long in happiness.

7. Nala—Nala, king of Niṣadha, was a man of matchless beauty and high virtue. He

Story of
Nala and
Damayanti.

was attracted by the peerless beauty of Damayanti, daughter of king Bhīma. It is said that he sent a swan to this lady as his messenger. From it she came to know of the virtue and beauty of Nala and fell in love with him. Damayanti's choice of husband by herself being proclaimed Nala started for Vidarbha. On his way he met Indra and other lords of the quarters who too were going to the marriage assemblage. These gods sent Nala to Damayanti, to inform her of their love for her. The gods knowing the deep love of Damayanti towards Nala took the shape of Nala and sat in the meeting. Dayamanti was able to recognise Nala and put the wedding wreaths round his neck, whereupon the gods were pleased with her and left their place after blessing her. The gods on their return met with Dvāpara and Kali. Kali was angry and resolved to bring ruin upon her by hook or by crook. In consequence of his trick Nala was bound to leave his kingdom and to reside in a forest with his wife. After many vicissitudes of life Damayanti, separated from Nala, went to her father's house. There her choice of husband being again declared Nala, who acted as a charioteer of king Vāhuka of Oudh went to Vidarbha and was reunited with Damayanti. Therefrom he went to his kingdom with his wife and spent the rest of his days happily.

Three main editions of the Epic.

1. Calcutta edition—This was published in 4 volumes in 1834-39 with the Harivamśa but without any commentary. Calcutta
 2. Madras edition—This, printed in Telugu character, came out in four volumes in 1855-60, including Harivamśa and extracts from Nilakanṭha's commentary. Madras.
 3. Bombay edition—This was published in Bombay in 1863 with Nilakanṭha's commentary but without Harivamśa and is decidedly the best edition as regards readings. Bombay.
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THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

1. Origin of the Rāmāyaṇa :—It is said that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed by the great sage Vālmiki living on the bank of the Ganges. The sage at first taught this to Lava and Kuśa, who sang it at the *Horse sacrifice* (Aśvamedhayajña) of Rāma Candra before a great assemblage. Professor Macdonell is of opinion that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed at Kośala.

2. Body of the Epic :—In its present form the epic contains some 24000 Ślokas distributed into seven books called Kāṇḍas. These are Ādi, Ayodhyā, Araṇya, Kiśkindhyā, Sundara, Lankā, and Uttara.

The Ādi Kāṇḍa describes the birth of Rama, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Satrugṇa, their marriage with Sitā, Maṇḍavī, Ūrmilā, and Śruta-kīrti respectively. It also gives an account of the fore-fathers of Rāma, descent of the Ganges and the humiliation of Paraśurāma.

At the outset of the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa we find that Daśaratha wishes to make Rāmacandra heir-apparent and consults with Vasiṣṭha and his ministers for the inauguration ceremony of Rāma. At the instigation of Mantharā Kaikeyī asked Daśaratha to banish Rāma for fourteen

Origin.

Body.

Names of
Kāṇḍa.

Ādi Kāṇḍa

years and install her own son Bharata in his place for the two boons promised to her formerly by Daśaratha. Rāmacandra abiding by the orders of his father started for the forest with Lakṣmaṇa and Sita amidst the wailings of the citizens. He struck friendship with Guhaka and then went to the hermitage of Bharadvāja and Vālmiki. Daśaratha died after a few days. Bharata was sent for and came to the capital to perform the funeral ceremony. He went to Rāma to bring him back but Rāmacandra could not be induced to take back the kingdom. Bharata returned with the sandals of Rāmacandra and placing them on the throne at Nandigrām governed the country as a Vice-regent of Rāma.

Ayodhyā
Kāṇḍa.

Rāmacandra entered into the Daṇḍaka forest, killed Birādha, Khara, Dūṣaṇa and Mārīca in the guise of a stag. Rāvaṇa with a view to retaliate upon Rāma for the insult he threw upon Śūrpanakhā by severing her nose and ears stole away Sitā and brought her over to Laṅkā.

Arāṇya
Kāṇḍy.

Rāma makes friends with Sugriva, Hanumān and others, kills Vālī and sends messengers in search of Sitā. The monkeys meet Sampatī and know from him the whereabouts of Sitā.

Kiṣkindhyā
Kāṇḍa.

Hānumān crosses the ocean, fights with Laṅkā disguised as a demoness and enters into

Sundara
Kāṇḍa.

the inner apartments of Rāvaṇa. He then goes to the Asoka forest, meets Sītā there and converses with her. Taking a signet ring from Sītā Hanumān becomes ready to return to Kiṣkindhyā but before starting he breaks the pleasure garden into pieces, fights with the Rākṣasas, kills many of them and then burns Laṅkā to ashes. He then pays a visit to Sītā again and starts for Kiṣkindhyā and reaching there safe, presents Rāma with the signet ring of Sītā.

Laṅkā
Kāṇḍa.

Rāmacandra makes Nala construct a bidge over the sea and reaches Laṅkā with his allies. He makes alliance with Vibhīṣaṇa and after a long fight of ten months kills Rāvaṇa with his friends, relations and captures Laṅkā. He then made Vibhīṣaṇa king of Laṅkā and returned to Ayodhyā with Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and his friends. The coronation ceremony of Rāmacandra being over, the Rākṣasas and Vānaras departed to their respective kingdoms and Rāmacandra ruled the kingdom for many years with the help of his brothers.

Agastya comes to Rāmacandra after the inauguration ceremony and relates to him the birth of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, and Rāvaṇa's conquest for the world, etc. On hearing a rumour regarding Sītā he resolves to banish her and asks Lakṣmaṇa to do it. Lakṣmaṇa takes Sītā to the hermitage of Vālmiki and

leaves her there. Rāma makes preparation for a horse-sacrifice and lets loose the consecrated horse guarded by Candraketu. On the return of the horse the great sacrifice commences. Vālmīki with Kuśa and Lava attends the ceremony and the two brothers narrate the story of the Rāmāyaṇa there. Sītā was sent for and when she appeared Rāmacandra asked her to give the proof of her chastity. Whereupon Sītā entered into the nether world. Kāla disguised as a sage came to Rāmacandra and managed some how to induce Rāma to forsake Lakṣmaṇa. Kuśa and Lava were installed as kings and Rāmacandra with Vānaras, Rākṣasas and principal citizens entered into the waters of the Sarajāṇu.

The valuable researches of professor Jacobi have shown that the five books (II-VI) form the nucleus and that the first and seventh books were subsequently added to it. The following arguments are adduced to support this statement.

The original position of the Rāmāyaṇa.

(a) Several passages of the first book are directly at variance with the statement of the other books.

(b) The main story of the epic is concluded in the sixth book and so there is no necessity of the seventh.

(c) Moreover we get two tables of contents in the book, one of which takes no notice of the first and last books.

The first and the last books are later additions.

The composition of the last book seems to be a work of an unripen hand and my firm conviction is that it was added afterwards. As regards the first book, I believe, it formed a part of the original.

Recension.

3. Three recensions :—There are three recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa also. These are—The *West Indian*, the *Bengal*, and the *Bombay* editions.

Date of the Rāmāyaṇa.

4. Date of the Rāmāyaṇa :—The original portion of the Rāmāyaṇa, say some scholars, was most probably composed in the 5th century B. C. and additions were made sometime after 300 B. C. Professor Macdonnell supports this view by saying that the original portion of the Rāmāyaṇa was composed before the epic kernel of the Mahābhārata assumed definite shape. Further he proves it from the fact that the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa are often mentioned in the Mahābhārata, while those of the latter find hardly any place in the former. The connection of the Rāmāyaṇa with the *Buddhist literature* helps in ascertaining its date. One of the pāli Birth stories gives the story of the Rāmāyaṇa in some altered shape. These prove that the origin of the Rāmāyaṇa must precede the Buddhistic period.

Internal and external proofs.

The Rāmāyaṇa takes no notice of Pātaliputra though near this very city Rāma marched on his way to the forest. Pātaliputra or modern Pātnā was founded by Kālāsoka during whose reign the second Buddhistic council was held in 380 B.C. The author of the book has mentioned some

minor cities such as Kausāmbī, and Kānya Kubja. Had Pātaliputra existed at the time he would have certainly mentioned it. This makes its composition to be earlier than the fourth century B.C. In the original part of the Rāmāyaṇa we do not get Sāketa as the name of Ayodhyā. The Buddhists, Jainas, Greeks and Patanjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* assign this name to Ayodhyā. This points to the conclusion that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed before their time. The earliest Buddhist literature being composed in the 5th century B. C., it can safely be assumed that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed in the 6th century B. C. at the latest.

As is seen from the body of the book The Rāmāyaṇa aims at popularity. About the time of Pāṇini Prākṛit was the dialect of the country where the Epic was composed. The language in which the book has been composed could not be understood by the people in general, besides, some of its words do not tally with the system of Pāṇini for their formations. Both of these go to show that the book was composed at pre-pāṇin-period. Pāṇini, as the accepted opinion goes, flourished in the fourth century B. C. but Professor Goldstücker is of opinion that his date cannot be later than the 8th century B.C. If Goldstücker's opinion is taken to be

Language
of the epic

correct, the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa took place at about 9th century B. C. The Mahābhārata, it has now been proved decidedly, was composed about 1500 B. C. The Rāmāyaṇa as it precedes the Mahābhārata, was composed at least about 2000 B. C. Besides we get the name Ikṣhvāku, Rāma and Daśaratha in the R̥gveda, therefore the historical germ of the epic dates back to about 4000 B. C.

The style of the Rāmāyaṇa
Vālmiki is rich in similes. He often uses the cognate figure called rupaka or identifications. He also employs other ornaments familiar to the classical poets and the style of his description almost equals that of the classical poets. The Rāmāyaṇa in fact represents the dawn of the later artificial kāvya. Vālmiki is called the Ādi Kavi or *first poet* because he was the first to compose the following verse in śloka metre after the Vedic period.

‘ना निषाद ! प्रतिष्ठां लभनः शूद्रतां क्षमा ।
यत् कौञ्चनिग्रहादेकनवधीः काननीहितम् ॥

The two parts of the Rāmāyaṇa
The original Rāmāyaṇa consists of two distinct parts. The first describes the events of the court of king Daśaratha at Ayodhyā and other consequences. There is nothing fantastic in the narrative. The

second is based on myths and is full of marvels and fantasies. Messrs Lassen and Weber are of opinion that the story was intended to represent allegorically the first attempts of the Aryans to conquer the Deccan.

According to Prof. Jacobi it is based on the Indian mythology. Sītā can be traced to the R̥gveda where she appears as the furrow personified and invoked as a goddess. Rāma would be no other than Indra and his quarrel with Rāvaṇa corresponds to the Indra Vṛta-myth of the R̥gveda. The rape of Sītā has its prototype in the stealing of the cows by Paṇis and recovery of them by Indra. Māruti represents Indra's alliance with the dog Saramā and the Maruts in his conflict with Vṛtra. Saramā crossed the waters of the river Rosā as Māruti did that of ocean, and traced the cows.

Jacobi and
the Rāmā-
yaṇa.

Story of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā had four sons—Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna. Daśaratha, being old resolved to declare Rāma, his eldest son, as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent. But Kaikeyī, his second queen, whom Daśaratha previously promised two boons, came forward and asked for her boons. By one she wanted to banish Rāma for fourteen years and by the other to

Subject
matters of
the Rāmā-
yaṇi.

instal Bharata, her son, as Yuvarāja. Rāma accordingly went to the forest accompanied by his beloved brother Lakṣmaṇa and faithful wife Sitā. But as ill luck would have it Sitā was stolen therefrom by Rāvaṇa, the Rākṣasa king of Laṅkā. Rāma made alliance with Sugriva, king of Kiṣkindhyā, Hanumān and others, and going over to Laṅkā killed Rāvaṇa with his family and rescued Sitā. Then returning to Ayodhyā he took the reins of government in his own hands from Bharata who acted as a regent of Rāma during his absence.

The Episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Rāmāyaṇa contains several interesting episodes, of which the descent of the Ganges, the story of Viśvāmitra and the origin of the sloka are famous.

1. Descent of the Ganges.—The horse of the horse-sacrifice of Sagara being stolen by Indra, his sixty thousand sons went, far and wide, in search of him. They dug the earth with spades and found him standing by Kapila. They thereupon hurled volleys of insulting words upon Kapila and were reduced to ashes by the angry sage. Then their descendants with a view to sanctify the remains of their ancestors tried in vain for centuries to bring down the divine Ganges from heaven. At last Bhagiratha was able, on account of his hard penances, to bring down the heavenly river.

2. Viśvāmitra—Once Viśvāmitra went to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha and was highly entertained by the sage. Everything was done by the miraculous power of his cow. Seeing this Viśvāmitra took the cow forcibly with him at the time of his departure from the grove. The cow looked piteously at the sage and understanding that he had no power to save her from the iron grip of the king produced mighty soldiers from her body and routed the royal force. The king thus overpowered by the Brahminical power gave himself up to severe penances and attained Brāhmaṇhood. And at last he was reconciled with the noble sage Vasiṣṭha.

How Viśvāmitra attained Brahmanhood ?

3. Origin of Śloka—Vālmiki while sitting by the river Tamasā for the purpose of ablution saw once a hunter kill a heron out of a loving pair. He was keenly moved at the grief of the female bird and gave vent to his sorrow by the following Śloka that came out of his mouth all of a sudden.

Origin of śloka.

It is said that no verse was composed in such a metre before this in classical literature. It runs thus—

“मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वनगमः शश्वतीः सन्तः ।

यत् कौञ्चमिदुनादिकमवधीः कामनोद्धितम्” ।

Popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The epic says that the Rāmāyaṇa will survive upon the lips of men as long as mountain-

range stands and rivers flow upon the earth.* This prophecy has been abundantly fulfilled. Its stories furnish the subjects of many Sanskrit poems and plays. It delights the hearts of myriads of Indians even now.

* यावत्तिष्ठन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च नहीतले ।

तावत् रामायणकथा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥ १।२।३६—३७ ।

PURĀṆAS.

Definition—The theogonical treatises dealing more or less with the fivefold topics, viz (1) primary creation, (2) dissolution, (3) genealogy of gods and patriarchs, (4) reigns of Manus (mundane cycles) and (5) instructive legends in connection with royal families, go under the general name of the Purāṇas¹. The term *Purāṇa* originally meant “Purāṇam ākhyānam” as is evidenced by vedic legends. The name purāṇa is significant in as much as they fill up the gap left by the vedas.

Definition
and meaning.

Its Origin and antiquity—According to orthodox Hindus the Purāṇas like the Vedas, were the breathing of the Absolute Being or Brahma.² It is said in the Agni and Matsya purāṇas that Purāṇa at first was remembered by Brahmā and then the four Vedas came out of his four mouths.³ The popular belief is that all the 18 purāṇas with an equal number of upapurāṇas were

The origin
the purāṇas.
—their anti-
quity and
authorship.

- 1 “सर्गय प्रतिर्गर्गय वंशी मन्त्रतराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितश्चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥”
- 2 बृहदारण्यक २।४।१० ; ४।५।११
- 3 पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
अन्तरिक्षं वक्तुं भ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिर्गताः ॥

Sources of
the purāṇas

composed by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. The close study of the vedic literature would show that the Purāṇas reach back to great antiquity and are rooted in them. The germ of a large number of pauranic legends is scattered in many of the Ṛgveda-hymns. Many legends familiar in the Brāhmaṇs reappear in the Purāṇas in slightly modified forms. The very name Purāṇa indicates its remotest antiquity. The Atharva veda (xi 7. 24; x.6) mentions the name of purāṇa along with the four Vedas. But the existence of treatises known as purāṇa is proved directly in the sūtra literature. The Dharma Sūtra of Gautama, which is supposed to be the oldest work of the kind mentions the name of the purāṇas together with the Vedas, the law books and the vedāṅgas and hence there remains no doubt that it speaks of some particular treatises by the term purāṇa. The Āpastamba Dharma sūtra also (which is supposed by the scholars to be very old), has two passages among numerous quotations from the purāṇas and a third from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (but it is not found in the modern printed edition). These are sufficient guarantees for the existence of purāṇas and for their antiquity. The above mentioned Dharma Sūtras, in the opinion of some scholars, belong to the fifth

of fourth century B. C. and therefore these literatures go back at least to 6th century B. C. It may be that our modern purāṇas are but remnants of the older works designated as purāṇas and for this their existence cannot be denied. The Harivamśa which is a supplement to the Mahābhārata, quotes Vāya purāṇa which exactly agrees with the Vāyupurāṇa that has come down to us. The Mahābhārata (1. 2. 82-83) also mentions the names of Vāyu and Bhāṭiya-purāṇas.*

The antiquity of the Purāṇas.

Position of Purāṇas in Indian

Literature

It is very difficult to find out the exact position of the purāṇas in Indian literature. Prof. Hölzer describes them as "popular sectarian compilations of mythology, philosophy, history and sacred law intended, as they are now used, for the instruction of the unlettered mass, including the upper division of the Śūdra Varna" (Laws of Manu S. B. E. X X V. P. XCi). Mr. Pargiter and J. N. Farguhar also echo the something in the following lines. "They

Purāṇas, a store-house of mythology, philosophy, law and history

* देवादेव दुर्गा देव दुर्गा देव दुर्गा । सुते त्रैलोक्यमिदम्
मन्त्रा मन्त्रमिदम् । महा. 1.1.17. चर्मण्य सतः पुनः
दुर्गा देव दुर्गा । महा. 1. 2. 82.

+ "वायोवायुमिदम् वायुः पुनः देवमिदम् एतावान् मन्त्रम्
मन्त्रमिदम् ।

afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy, its superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies and its ethics than any other works" (vide Paigiter, E R E X. pp 451 and J.N. Ferguhar, Outlines of the Religious Literature of India p. 136). The Mahābhārata for the greater part and the Harivaṃsa almost-entirely partake of the nature of the Purāṇas. The later books and chapters of the Rāmāyaṇa too are nothing but purāṇas. There are numerous myths, legends and didactic matters of the purāṇas in common with the epics. The five fold characteristics of the ordinary purāṇas and the tenfold characteristics * of the Mahāpurāṇas, as given by the purāṇas themselves, show that they are, to speak briefly, a compendium of treatises secular or spiritual.

Purāṇas—their relation with the Vedas.

It is said that the Purāṇas are the fifth Veda †. Itibāsa, which is a part of

* सर्ग, प्रतिसर्ग, इति, रक्षा, अक्षर, वंश, अष्टाद्वयित, संशय, हेतु and अपादय ।

† इतिहासपुराणानि पञ्चमं वेदनीयम् ।

सर्वेभ्यः एव वक्तृभ्यः सृष्टी सर्वदर्शनः । भागवत पुराण १।१।२

इतिहासः पुराणश्च पञ्चमी वेद उच्यते ।

वेदान्तशास्त्रानाम् महाभारत पञ्चमम् ।

Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa specially its last part, akin to Purāṇas.

Two kinds of Purāṇas

Parāṇas—a part of the Vedas.

the purāṇas, is also called the fifth Veda in the Chāndogya upanishad.* The Mahābhārata says that the Vedas should be swollen by histories and purāṇas.† But the Vedas cannot be filled up by non-vedic texts, so, according to the orthodox view these books are part and parcel of the Vedas.

Classes of Purāṇas—their number and divisions.

There are two broad divisions of the purāṇas—the purāṇas and Mahāpurāṇas in accordance with the fivefold and tenfold characteristics possessed by them as has been said before. The purāṇas are didactic in character and sectarian in purpose. From the sectarian stand point they fall under three heads—the Vaiṣṇava, the Śaiva and the Brāhma purāṇas. There are eighteen purāṇas and these are divided equally in three groups to magnify the glory of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā respectively. Thus we find that the puranic doctrines consists mainly of the worship of the *Trinity*—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahesvara. Rajoguṇa is predominant in Brahmā, Sattvagūṇa is predominant in Viṣṇu and tamoguṇa is predominant in Maheswar. So in the last

The Purāṇas
—their characteristics
and divisions

* ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्यमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमायर्वचं चतुर्थमिति-
हासं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम् । छान्दोग्य ३।१५।७

† इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्—महाभारत १।१।२६७।

section of the Padma Purāṇa we find the purāṇas divided into three classes in accordance with the three guṇas, the rajas, the Sattva and the Tamha. So they are also called the Rājasik, Sāttvik and Tāmasik Purāṇas * This list of Padma Purāṇa corresponds exactly to that given in the Viṣṇu purāṇa but some purāṇas read Vāyu in place of Śaiva Purāṇ, while others take Vāyu in lieu of Brhama which is taken as Purāṇa Samhitā. It is said that the purāṇas like the Vedas were formerly one undivided whole consisting of a hundred crores of ślokas, which explain how the fourfold pursuits of human desire, viz, dharma, artha, Kāma and mokṣa, can be attained. In course of time people were disgusted to study such a bulky and unwieldy text. So Kṛiṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, divided and arranged it in 18 parts. Each of these parts came to be known as a purāṇa. The words of Brahmā unto Marīchi in the Bṛhannāradiya purāṇa support the above statement.

- * “मातृष्यं कीर्णं तदा सैष्टं शैवं स्कान्दं तथैव च ।
 आग्नेयं च यद्वैतानि तामसानि निषोधत ॥
 वैष्णवं नारदीयं च तथा भागवतं शुभम् ।
 गारुडं तथा पाद्मं वाराहं शुभदर्शनम् ।
 सात्त्विकानि पुराणानि विष्णुयानि शुभानि वै ॥
 ब्रह्माण्डं ब्रह्मवैवर्ते माकण्डेयं तथैव च ।
 भविष्यं तामसं ब्राह्मं राजानि निषोधत ॥

Number of
Purāṇas—
their bulk.

Division of
the Purāṇas.

Paurāṇic creation etc.—The paurāṇic creation corresponds to that of the Sāṃkhya Philosophy and the code of Manu somewhat modified. In the Sāṃkhya philosophy convulsion in the primordial matter is caused by the presence of Puruṣa, where-as in the purāṇas it is the volition of Brahmā that causes this disturbance. The state of equilibrium of the three guṇas, *sattva*, *raja* and *tama*, is Prakṛti. When this equilibrium is disturbed, Prakṛti marches upon its courses of evolution and there appear 24 categories known as 24 tattvas. Puruṣa coming in contact with Prakṛti, his own power, manifests himself as *Isvara* and the threefold divinities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In *Isvara* there is pure *sattva*-guṇa, while in Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva there is predominance of *raja*, *sattva* and *tama* guṇas respectively. Being desirous of creation Brahmā created *Bīrat* who in his turn created ten *Prajāpaties*. These *Prajāpaties* created men. This manifested world at the end of a *Manvantara* enters into Brahmā and remains there in its potential state till new creation begins. This state is known as *Pratisarga* or resolution. By *Vamśa* is meant the genealogy of gods, sages, and kings. *Manvantara* is the time presided over by a particular Manu. This com-

Creation
according to
Purāṇas.

Manvantara.

tains 15000 ślokas, showing clearly that about a third of it has been interpolated.

(3) The original Padma purāṇ had 55,000 ślokas. The original purāṇ, it is stated, had five sections, viz, Sristikhaṇḍa, Bhūmikhaṇḍa, Pātālkhaṇḍa and Uttarkhaṇḍa, but the present edition contains Brahmakhaṇḍa and Kriyayogakhaṇḍa in addition to them it contains, moreover, many things which are not found in its Anukramaṇikā. The Vāyu purāṇ, as we have said before, is taken in lieu of Śiva purāṇ. (4) The original Vāyu purāṇ had 24,000 ślokas, but the Vangavāsī edition has 19,000 ślokas. This has 6 Smāhitās, namely, ज्ञान, विश्वेश्वर, कैलास, सनत्कुमार, वायु and धर्म, but the original Śiva purāṇ had 12 Smāhitās. (5) 'There is a controversy with regard to the Bhāgavata purāṇ. It is believed by some that Devī Bhāgavata is the real Bhāgavata purāṇ, while the Bhāgavata in its present form is but an Upapurāṇ. In the opinion of some this Bhāgavata was composed by Vopadeva Gosvāmī. But there is a manuscript of the Bhāgavata purāṇ in the library of the Queen's College, Benares, written in the 12th Century A.D., much earlier than the time of Vopadeva. Besides, the temple of Pāhāḍpur has some pictures that tally exactly with some scenes of the Bhāgavata.

Padma
Purāṇa—
its ślokas

Vāyu
Purāṇa—
its ślokas.

The Bhāga-
vata Purāṇa
—its ślokas.

This temple is thought to belong to the Buddhistic period. Therefore there remains no doubt with regard to its antiquity. The original Bhāgavata had 18,000 ślokas. (6) The original Agnipurāṇ had 15,800 ślokas. Besides it contains many things, such as, metre, figures of speech, astronomy, grammar etc. which do not come within the purview of the purāṇas. (7) The original Nāradiya purāṇa had 25,000 ślokas, the modern purāṇ falls short of it. (8) The original Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇ had 9000 ślokas, while the present purāṇ has only 7000 ślokas. (9) The original Bhaviṣya purāṇ had 14,500 ślokas, but the present printed purāṇ has 2,000 ślokas, moreover it does not tally with the account as given in the Matsya purāṇ. (10) The original Brahma Vaivarta purāṇ had 18,000 ślokas, the present printed edition does not agree with the number. The index of the book is not similar to that given in the Nāradiya purāṇ. (11) The original Varāha purāṇ had 24,000 ślokas, but the Vangavāsi edition has only 9000. Besides it contains many things which do not fall in the province of the purāṇas. (12) The original Līṅga purāṇ had 15000 ślokas, but the number found in the Vangbāsi edition is less than that. (13) The original

The Agni
purāṇa—
its ślokas

The Nārā-
diya purāṇa
its—ślokas

The Mār-
konḍeya,
Bhaviṣya,
Brahma-
vaivarta
Varāha, and
Līṅga
Purāṇas—
their verses

Skanda purāṇ, according to the Matsya and the Agni purāṇs had 81,100 or 84,000 slokas, but according to Bhaṭṭiṣya purāṇ the number was 100,000. Besides, it is stated that the purāṇ had 6 Saṃhitās, viz., सनत्कुमार, युत, शङ्कर, वैष्णवी, ब्राह्मी and सौरी, but in the printed edition we get seven sections—महेश्वर, विष्णु, ब्रह्मा, काशी, भावन्त, नागर and प्रभास. (14) The original Vāmana Purāṇ is said to contain the four Saṃhitās—Māheśvari, Bhāgavati, Sauri and Gāṇeśvari, each containing a thousand slokas. This is not found in the present printed edition. (15) The original Kurma Purāṇa had four sections—Brāhma, Bhāgavati, Sauri, and Vaiṣṇavī, but the present printed edition has only the Brāhmi section, which is only a part of the whole. (16) The original Matsya Purāṇa had 50 chapters consisting of 14000 Slokas but it is not found in the present printed edition (17) According to some Purāṇs the original Garuḍa Purāṇa had 18,000 slokas, while according to other Purāṇs, the number was 18000 distributed into two sections, Purva Khaṇḍa, and Uttara Khaṇḍa. The present printed edition has only 11000 Slokas. (18) The original Vāyu purāṇ had 24000 slokas but the present printed edition contains less number.

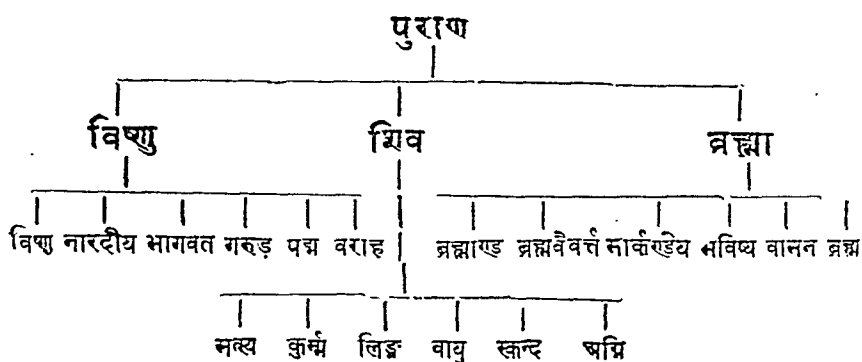
The Skanda purāṇs—its verses.

The Vāmana, the Kurma, the Matsya, the Garuḍa, the Vāyu Purāṇas—their slokas

The Purāṇas, as we have said before, are divided into three classes in as much as

The Brāhma,
Vaiṣṇava and
Śaiva purāṇ-
as—their
names and
subject
matter.

they magnify the glory of Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. The Viṣṇu, Nāradya, Bhāgavata, Garuda, Padma and Varāha are sacred to Viṣṇu; the Matsya, Kurma, Liṅga, Vāyu, Skanda and Agni are sacred to Śiva and the Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma Vaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya, Vāmana and Brahma are sacred to Brahmā. We give below a table of these Purāṇas and a short description of them all.



The Brahma Purāṇ, says the Viṣṇu Purāṇ, is the oldest of all and therefore we begin with this.

Brahma
Purāṇa—its
subject
matter.

1. *Brahmā*—The earlier chapters give a description of the creation and an account of the solar and lunar dynasties up to the time of Kṛṣṇa. Then follows a description of the universe and an account of Orissa with its holy places and the temples of Jagannātha and Koṇārka. To this succeeds a description of the life of Kṛṣṇa.

The work ends with an account of the Yoga. It describes also Yugadharma, Varṇāśrama-dharma, Tīrtha and the origin of the Gaṅgā.

2. *Brahmāṇḍa*.—This is not found as a collective work, but exists only in fragments. Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa is considered to be a part of this purāṇa. In the list of purāṇas given in the Kurma purāṇ, the eighteenth purāṇ is called Vāyabīya Brahmāṇḍa and therefore, in my opinion, this purāṇ is otherwise known as Vāyu purāṇ. It is divided into four sections—the Prakriyapāda, Anuṣaṅgapāda, Upodghātapāda and Upaśamhārapāda. In it we find the descriptions of creation, kalpas, different yugas, manvantar, dynasties of kings and divisions of earth.

Subject
matter of
the Brahmā-
ṇḍa Purāṇa

3. *Brahmavaiivarta*.—This is divided into four sections—Brahma, Prakṛti, Gaṇeśa and Srikrṣṇa. The first describes creation, quarrel between Nārada and Brahmā, attainment of true knowledge etc. The second gives an account of Prīmordial Nature and various vows and worship. The third gives an account of the birth of Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya and of the legends of Paraśurāma.

Brahma vai-
varta Purā-
ṇa—its sub-
ject matter.

* Mr. Winternitz thinks that the description of the temple of Koṣārka was a later interpolation as the temple was not built until 1241 A. D. (Vide his Indian Literature vol 1 p. 535). But it may be that the reference is not to the modern temple.

The fourth has an account of the birth of Śrīkṛṣṇa and his glorious deeds.

4. *Mārkaṇḍeya*.—It is one of the most important and interesting of the purāṇas. The purāṇa is called Mārkaṇḍīya after its narrator, the sage Markaṇḍeya. It is one of the oldest purāṇas too. The Sapta-Śatī Candi, which is read regularly or occasionally in many Hindu houses and specially in connection with the Durgā Pūjā festival, forms a part of it. It is curious to note here that like the older purāṇas it does not extol Viṣṇu and Śiva in a way in which the other purāṇas do. In it Indra, Brahmā, Agni and Sūrya occupy a prominent place, like ancient Vedic deities. There is a series of legends here, viz., the legends of Hariścandra, Haihaya, Madālasā, Alarka, Avijit, Tulasī, Rāmācandra, Pururavah, Kṛṣṇa etc. Besides it describes various kinds of creation, manvantar, nine sorts of virtue etc. The lunar dynasty, the race of Yadu and the family of Kuśa are also described here.

5. *Bhaviṣya*.—As the name indicates, the work gives an account regarding what would happen in the future. But we are frustrated in our hopes. The work treats of creation and explains the Saṃskāras and the duties of different castes and orders of life. This is a sort of the-

manual of religious office. The number of legends is very scanty. The Nāga Pañcamī festival and the worship of the sun in Śākadvīpa occupy a considerable section of the book. Many vows and mähātmyas, both modern and ancient, claim to be a part of this or Bhabiṣyottara purāṇa, which seems to be a continuation of this purāṇa.

6. *Vāmana*.—The work begins with an account of the Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu, whence it derived its name. The incarnations of Viṣṇu in general are also dealt with in some chapters. This also describes the legends of Dakṣa's sacrifice, the burning of Kāmadeva, the marriage of Śiva and Umā and of the birth of Kārtikeya. Descriptions of some holy places too are found in the work.

Vāmana
Purāṇa—its
subject
matter.

7. *Viṣṇu*.—In this book Viṣṇu is glorified and worshipped as the highest deity. The Vaiṣṇavas, specially the Visnuite sect of the Rāmānujas, take it as an authority on their religion. It is one of the oldest purāṇas. This is divided into six books. The first book speaks of the creation of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Attached to the account of crea-

Viṣṇu
Purāṇa—its
subject
matter.

* अम्बुप्रचाद्वयौ द्वीपौ शास्त्रलिङ्गापरो द्विज ।

कुशः क्रौञ्च स्तया शाकः पुष्करयैव सप्तमः ॥

एते द्वीपाः समुद्रैस्तु सप्तसप्तभिरावृताः ।

खवयेत्तुमुत्तमसिद्धिर्दधिदुग्धमलैः समम् । १।५।६

tion of gods, demons and primal ancestors of human race, there are numerous mythological narratives, allegories and legends of ancient kings and sages. The second book describes the earth with its seven islands and seven seas. It gives the legend of the king. Bharata in connection with Bhārata-varṣa. The third book gives an account of the Vedas and its division by Vyāsa, defines purāṇas and enumerates their number. It also gives an account of the Manus and the ages they rule over. Then is discussed how one may attain salvation. It is followed by an exposition on the duties of castes and orders of life (आश्रमस). The fourth book gives an account of the solar and lunar races along with legends connected therewith. There is also a brief account of Rāma-legend. The fifth book gives in detail the biography of Kṛiṣṇa resembling the account of Harivaṃśa. The sixth book describes the four yugas and different kinds of dissolution. The last chapter briefly recapitulates the contents of the whole purāṇa and ends with the praise of Viṣṇu.

8. *Naradīya Purāṇa*.—This purāṇ is generally called Bṛhannārādīya purāṇa in order to distinguish it from the Nārādīya upapurāṇa. He (Narada) preaches the doctrine of Viṣṇu-bhakti. Various legends are told

Subject-matter of the Nārādīya Purāṇa.

here with a view to illustrate the Viṣṇu cult. It contains a list of sins and the corresponding punishment to be suffered at hell. Duties of castes and āśramas too obtain in some chapters.

9. *Bhāgavata*.—This work exerts at present a great influence on the life and thought of the adherents of the Bhāgavata sect. This holy scripture is respected and studied regularly by many Vaiṣṇavas. The book resembles closely the Viṣṇu purāṇa with regard to its contents. The work is divided into 12 sections called skandas. It describes creation and the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Kapila, the expounder of Sāṃkhya philosophy, is mentioned as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It narrates also the legends of Prahlāda and Dhruva. The episode of Sakuntalā is referred to in the 9th book. It contains the biography of Kṛiṣṇa. The wonderful feats of the early life of Kṛiṣṇa are described elaborately in the 10th book, the longest of all the books. The destruction of the Yādavas and death of Kṛiṣṇa are given in book XI. The 12th book speaks of the characteristics of the Kali-yuga and the dissolution of the world.

Bhāgavata-
Purāṇa—its
subject
matter.

10. *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*.—This was revealed to Garuḍa by Viṣṇu himself and hence the name. It deals with creation, genealogies of solar and

Garuḍa
Purāṇa—
its—contents

lunar dynasties, the ages of the world, expiatory rites and festivals sacred to Viṣṇu. Glorification of sacred places is also related herein. This lays down the rules for the five kinds of sectarian worship that are in vogue in India, viz. the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa. It deals, besides, with many of the legends of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, along with an account of astronomy, astrology, grammar, politics, and of precious stones. Of the Māhātmyas described here that of Gayā is very important.

The contents of the
Padma
Purāṇa.

11. *Padma*.—There are two different recensions of this work. The one consists of six books, Ādi, Bhūmi, Brahma, Pātāla, Sṛṣṭi, and Uttara Khaṇḍa, while the other consists of five books, Sṛṣṭi, Bhumi, Svarga, Pātāla and Uttara Khaṇḍa. It is the most voluminous of all the purāṇas and derives its name from the navel-lotus of Viṣṇu in which Brahmā appeared. Here Brahmā is said to be the first cause. The book relates cosmological and cosmogonic myths and abounds in legends glorifying the god Viṣṇu. The description of creation is followed by an account of the solar and lunar races along with Pitaras. A part of the book describes the lake Puṣkara sacred to Brahmā. There are mentioned many feasts and vows in honour of the goddess Durgā. The book closes with a description of the birth and marriage

of Skanda. The Bhumikāṇḍa begins with legends of Somaśarmā who in his next birth was born as Prahlāda. This describes the sanctity of various tirthas and gives the story of Yayāti and his son Puru. The Svargakhaṇḍa narrates various regions of gods and the worlds of the Bhūtas, Pisācas, Gandharvas, Vidyā-dharas and Apsaras. The story of Śakuntalā given here resembles more of Kālidāsā's drama than the versions of the Mahābhārata. The legend of Pururavaḥ and Urvasī is also told here in connection with the description of the world of 'Apsarās. It relates the duties of various āśramas and castes and of the modes of the worship of Viṣṇu. The Pātālā khaṇḍa describes the subterranean regions with special reference to the world of the Nāgas. The legend of Rāma partly resembling the Rāmāyaṇa and partly Kālidasa's epic Raghuvamśa is found here. This also describes the horse-sacrifice of Rāma that was performed to wash away his sin arising from the murder of Rāvaṇa, a Brahmana. Then follows the account of purāṇas wherein it is said that Vyāsa first proclaimed Padma purāṇa, and the the sixteen other purāṇas and at last the Bhagavata purāṇa. The book ends with the tales of Kriṣṇa, Rādhā and other cowherdesses and the description of the sanctity of Śālagrāma Silās. The Uttarakhaṇḍa expounds the

Viṣṇu cult with feasts and ceremonies connected therewith. A large portion of the book is devoted to the glorification of the month of Māgha and Kārtika. This describes the Rāma legend and the Kṛṣṇa legend in details. The book speaks of the glorification of the Gītā and explains what Viṣṇu Bhakti is. The Kriyājogasāra forms an appendix to this.

12. *Varāha*—The subject-matter of the work is related to the goddess Bhagavatī by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as a boar, whence the title of the book is derived. The book contains brief allusions to creations and genealogies of gods, sages, and kings. It is a sort of manual to prayers and rule; for the Vaiṣṇavas. There are legends in connection with Śiva and Durgā too. It contains also the story of the birth of Gaṇeśa. Besides, it deals with Srāddhas, Prāyaścittas, creation of the sages and of the gods. Mathurā māhatmya occupies a considerable portion of the book. This also contains the tale of Naciketā in a modified form.

13. *Matsya*.—This is one of the old purāṇas and is in keeping with the definition of a purāṇ. It owes its title to the fact that Viṣṇu in his incarnation as a fish saved the Vedās and Manu from the great deluge. A full account of creation and genealogies is given here along with the descriptions of the Fathers and their cult. There are sections dealing

Varāha
Purāṇa—its
subject
matter.

Subject
matter of
the Matsya
Purāṇ.

with astronomy, geography and chronology. It gives a reliable accounts of the Andhra dynasty. Many legends of the Māhābhārata and Harivaṃśa are repeated here. Besides, it describes the glory of Prayāga, Bārāṇasī and the river Narmadā. There are detailed account of ceremonials in connection with the building of a house, the creation and dedication of images of gods, and temples etc. Religious feasts and festivals of the Vaiṣṇavas are described side by side with those of the Śaivas.

14. *Kūrma*.—The work itself states that there are four sections, viz, Brāhmī, Bhāga-vatī, Saurī and Vaiṣṇavī in it, but only Brahmi Samhitā has come down to us. The incarnation of Viṣṇu as a tortoise is adored here. During the churning of the oceans the mountain Mandara, which acted the part of the churning rod, rested on the back of this tortoise. Śiva is taken in high esteem throughout the work, but it is emphasised again and again that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are but one in reality. Śakti, i. e. the energy of creative force is worshipped here as a female deity. In decision of the question, which god was more worthy of worship, the Saptarṣis decided that the deity worshipped by a man is the highest with him. It is possessed of the fivefold characteristics of purāṇas.

Subject
matter of
Kūrma
purāṇas.

It speaks of the incarnations of Śiva. This also sings the sanctity of Allahabad and Benares. The second part opens with Īśvara Gītā teaching the knowledge of Śiva and it is followed by Vyās Gītā. This deals also with expiatory rites for all sorts of sins.

Contents of
Liṅga
Purāṇa.

15. Liṅga.—The work begins with an account of the creation and according to this Śiva is the creator. The Vedas too proceed from Liṅga. It deals mainly with the worship of Śiva in his various forms. Legends in connection with the 26 incarnations of Śiva are told here. It seems that the work was highly influenced by the Tantras.

Subject
matter of
Vāyu
Purāṇa.

16. Vāyu.—In some lists, as we have stated before, there is the name of Śaiva Purāṇa in lieu of the Vāyu purāṇa. The rule of the Guptas given in this purāṇa tallies with those of the 4th century A. D. This too has the fivefold characteristics of the ancient purāṇas. Towards the close of the work we meet with a description of the end of the world and the efficacy of *Yoga*. It ends with the description of Śiva-pura.

17. Skanda.—It is the most voluminous of all the purāṇas next to Padma. This is not a work in collective form but exists in fragments. It is called Skanda in as much as it is said by Skanda, son of Śiva. This purāṇa is divided into six Saṃhitās, viz., Sanatkumāriya,

Skanda
Purāṇa—its
Subject
matter.

Sūta, Brāhmi, Vaiṣṇavi, Sāṅkarī and Sauri. The Sūta Saṃhitā again is divided into four Khaṇḍas dealing respectively with the worship of Śiva, practice of yoga, ways of attaining salvation and the rules of Vedic rituals. The Sanatkumar Saṃhitā relates the glory of the sacred places of Benares. The Saura Saṃhitā has cosmogonic theories. The Sāṅkarī Saṃhitā is otherwise known as Agastya Saṃhitā. Skanda is supposed to have communicated this to the sage Agastya. The Kāśī khaṇḍa and Utkala khaṇḍa belonging to the above section describes the glory of Kāśī and Orissā in order with their temples and sacred places.

18. *Agni*—The work is so called as it was communicated to Vasiṣṭha by Agni. It describes the incarnations of Viṣṇu among which Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are the chief. It deals also with the cult of Śiva and Durgā. There is special mention of tantric rites in the book. A few chapters of the work are devoted on death and transmigration. It gives a summary of the Bhāgavat Gītā and the Yama Gītā. It contains also cosmological, Genealogical and geographical sections peculiar to the purāṇas. This purāṇa is specially interesting for its encyclopaedic character. It deals with Astrology, Astronomy, Geography, marriage, funeral rites, house-building, the art of war, the politics, the laws, medicines, poetry, grammar, lexicography and what not.

A brief account of Agni purāṇa.

It would not be out of place to give here the following for the independent judgment of the reader. It is said in the Mahābhārata that the Purāṇas were cited by Ugrasravā, the son of Romaharṣaṇa at the twelve years' sacrifice of Śaunaka in Namiṣāraṇya. From the purāṇas we can gather that this sacrifice was celebrated during the reign of Asīma Kṛṣṇa, the great grand son of Parikṣit. But there are some purāṇas, which contain the names of kings reigning from the 4th century B. C. down to the 4th century A. D. Therefore those cannot but be interpolations of subsequent ages. The speakers of the purāṇas and the persons to whom they were addressed, as also the names of kings during whose reign they were cited give us ample opportunity to divide the purāṇas into three strata. The purāṇas of the first stratum, probably compiled by Romaharṣaṇa, cover the period extending to the reign of Janamejaya; those of the second compiled by Ugrasravā extended to the time of Asīma Kṛṣṇa, those of the third contain the names of king who reigned after Asīma Kṛṣṇa till the close of the 4th century A. D. These have been described as prophecies. But there is a section of orthodox Hindus that believe that the sage Vyāsa, the seer of all the three times, the present, the past and the future, as he was, it was, not impossible

for him to give their names. This, in our opinion, needs no comment. The genealogical list of the Andhra kings in the Mastya and other purāṇas was composed and interpolated perhaps about 236 A. D. and the mention of the Guptas found in the Viṣṇu, Brāhṇḍa, Vāyu and Bhāgavata purāṇas was interpolated perhaps in the earlier part of the 4th-century A. D.

Mr. Pargitar thinks that the modern purāṇas were translated into Sanskrit from Māghadhī Prakṛt in which they were formerly written and for this (as the rule of putting numerals in Māghadhī is quite distinct from that of Sanskrit) there is discrepancy of the number of years with reference to the rule of a particular king and in support of this he has adduced many arguments. But before coming to such a conclusion we should consider the following facts. His arguments may apply only to the future portions of the purāṇas and not to their entire body. Besides, there is no tradition or any record found in any work that corroborates his statement. Moreover, no manuscript of purāṇas written in Māghadhī Prakṛt has not come to our sight. We find in the purāṇas and other scriptures that these were written in classical Sanskrit for the study of the women and the Sūdras, as they were not allowed to read Vedic texts.

Mr. Pargitar
on the
Purāṇas.

So we do not agree with the view of Mr. Pargitar.

The purāṇas are not only important to historians but to antiquarian also as sources of political history and history of religion. They are an interesting study to our indigenus poets also. Some suppose that Kālidāsa is greatly indebted to Padma Purāṇa as he imitated closely the legends of Pururavah and Urvaṣī, of Sakuntalā and of Rāma found there in his Vikramorvaṣīyam, Sakuntaālm and Raghuvamśam.

Besides these puranas there is an exact number of Upapurāṇas composed by the author of the Puraṇas. Of these Devī Bhāgavata, Sūrya Purāṇ, Bṛhannāradiya Purāṇ, Nṛsiṃha purāṇ, Saura purāṇ, Śiva Dharmottara, Mahesvara purāṇa, Marici purāṇa, Kālikā purāṇ, Sāmba purāṇa and Bṛihatdharma puran are important.

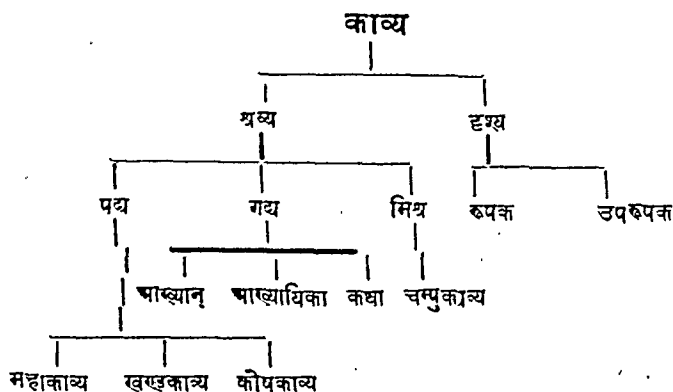
The Purā-
ṇas and
their value.

KĀVYA OR COURT EPIC.

Age of Kāvya Poetry.

Division of Kāvya.

The following is a tabular representation of the Kāvya :—



* गद्यपद्यमयं काव्यं चम्पूरित्यभिधीयते ।

Date of the Kāvya.

History and
age of
Kavyas.

The real history of the Kāvya begins with the reign of Harṣavardhana of Thanesvara (606-41). The date of no Kāvya is known precisely before this time. The Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira was undoubtedly composed in the middle of the sixth century A. D. It is not yet certain when Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bhāravi, Guṇādhyāya and other famous poets were born. Undoubtedly their name and fame spread far and wide about 600 A. D. Thus we see that though the literary history of India is obscure during the first five centuries of the Christian era, there are valuable evidences to ascertain the age of Kāvya literature.

Māhābhā-
ṣya.

Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya refers to court poetry in general. Court-poetry must therefore, have been developed before the beginning of the Christian era.

Buddha-
carit.

Aśvaghosha's Buddha Carita was translated into Chinese between 414 and 521 A. D. It is said that the author lived in the 2nd century A. D. during the time of the Buddhist king Kaṇiṣka (125 A. D.).

Epigraphy.

Epigraphic research has shed much light on the history of court-poetry of the first five centuries of the Christian era. Samudra Gupta, the second king of the Gupta line, was himself a poet and patron of poets. He lived in the first half of the fourth century A. D.

Harisena's panegyric on his royal patron consists of both verse and prose and shows masterly style rivalling that of Kālidāsa and Daṇḍi. The Vidarbha style, in which Kālidāsa wrote, developed about 300 A. D.

Panegyrics.

About 473 A. D. Vatsabhaṭṭi wrote a poem consisting of some forty-four stanzas to commemorate the consecration of a temple of the sun at Daṣapura.

Vatsabhatti

The two important prose inscriptions of Girnar and Nāsika prove the existence of the prose Kāvya style in the 2nd century A. D. The Girnar inscription shows that the author was acquainted with the theory of poetics. Therefore it cannot be said that the Kāvya was an invention of the 2nd century A.D. Epigraphic researches confirm the evidence of the Mahābhāshya that court poetry originated before the commencement of the Christian era.

Girnar and Nasik inscriptions.

The above evidences prove clearly that artificial epic originated before the Christian era and continued to be cultivated during the succeeding centuries without any break.

Continuous development.

The Renaissance Theory.

Professor Maxmuller holds that the middle of the sixth century when king Vikramāditya, whose court was adorned by the nine gems, ruled over Ujjain, was the Augustan period of Indian court poetry. This is his

well-known theory of the *Renaissance of Sanskrit literature*. He says that this literary activity ceased owing to the inroads of the Turanians from the first century B. C. to the third century of the christian era. This theory of a *literary interregnum* between the 1st century B. C. and 3rd century A. D. has been upset by the Gīrnar and Nāsika inscriptions and by epigraphical evidences as well. National Indian architecture and sculpture also attained a high state of development at Mathurā under Kaṇiṣka and his successors.

Maxmüller's theory which is founded on the chronological hypothesis of Fergusson is very weak, because the hypothesis itself has no foundation. Fergusson says that Vikrama of Ujjain founded the Vikrama era in 544 A. D. in commemoration of his victory over the Scythians' at Karore dating its beginning, 600 years back to 56 B. C. The epigraphical research of Dr. Fleet has destroyed this theory. From this we know that from B.C. 56 down to about 800 A. D. the era founded by Vikrama went by the name of Mālava era ; after that it is known by the name of Vikrama Saṃvat. Court epic, doubtless, flourished at least two hundred years before the Gupta period.

Mālinatha's (14th century) explanation of the word Dignāga occurring in the Meagaduta seems to be weak. In the first place

Maxmüller
and his Re-
naissance
theory—its
refutation.

Korore the-
ory or Fer-
gusson's
Hypothesis
—its refu-
tation.

that Dignāga was the hated rival of Kālidāsa is in itself dubious. Secondly, it is not certain if Kālidāsa meant the Buddhist teacher Dignāga. Thirdly, little weight can be attached to the tradition that Dignāga was a pupil of Vasubandhu, for this is not found till 6th century A. D. Fourthly, Vasubandhu's date in the 6th century A. D. depends on Vikrama theory which is itself baseless.

Dignāga
Theory.

The other main argument that Kālidāsa lived after Āryabhaṭṭa (A. D. 199) has also no foundation, for the passage “*क्षया हि भूमेः शशिनी मलत्वेनारोपिता यद्विमतः प्रजाभिः*” does not refer to the eclipse of the moon caused by the shadow of the earth but to the black spot on the moon which is according to purāṇas are caused by the shadow of the earth. So Kālidāsa is not indebted to Āryabhaṭṭa for his astronomical knowledge also.

Kālidāsa's
indebtedness
to Ārya-
bhaṭṭa.

THE DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA

There being no regular and historical records, orientalist have had to rely mainly upon indirect evidence, allusions to contemporary persons or events, and developments of style and language, in ascertaining the age of Kālidāsa. But the conclusions they have arrived at are as divergent as the poles.

We give below the conflicting theories regarding the age of the poet.

Native tradition places Kālidāsa at the court of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjain, in 57 B. C. This rests on the following verse of the Jyotirvidābharāṇa —

धन्वन्तरिचपणकामरसिहसङ्गु -

वेतालभट्टघटकपरकालिदासाः ।

ख्यातो वराहमिहिरोत्पतिः सभायां

रत्नानि वै वररुचि नैव विक्रमस्य ॥

The persons mentioned in the śloka flourished in ages separated by centuries, so no value can be attached to this. But it is sure that Kālidāsa lived in the court of a Vikrama. Whether this Vikrama is the name of a king or his title is not yet certain.

Sir Willien
Jones.

“If any historical records be true, we know with positive certainty that Amarasiṃha and Kālidāsa composed their works before the era of Christ ”(Asiatic Reserches).

Peterson.

“For it is certain now that Kālidāsa must be put earlier than has lately been generally supposed. He stands near the beginning of our era, if indeed he does not overtop it, and dates from the year one of Vikrama’s era”—
J. B. R. A. S.

G. R. Nan-
dargikar.

“It is also probable, nay, almost certain that Kālidāsa, the Virgil of the Hindus, may have lived some fifty years before the beginning of the Christian era, and may also have

been a poet in the imperial court of Vikramāḍitya who began to reign from 57 B. C."

Sir W. W. Hunter in his 'Brief History of the Indian People' places Kālidāsa in 57 B. C.

W. W.
Hunter.

According to the opinion of Prof. Weber Kalidāsa's three dramas were written at a period from the second to the 4th century of the Christian era. Monier Williams and C. H. Tawney have accepted this view. Lassen also fixes the 3rd century A. D. to be the date of Kālidāsa.

Weber, Monier Williams and C. H. Tawney.

Prof. Jacobi says that the author of the Raghuvamśa and the Kumāra-sambhavam cannot have lived before 350 A. D.

Jacobi.

Prof. Macdonell in his, History of Sanskrit Literature fixes the probable date of Kālidāsa at the beginning of the fifth century.

Macdonell

According to Maxmüller, as has been said in his renaissance theory, Kālidāsa lived in the sixth century A. D.

Maxmüller

Dr. Bhau Dāji places Kālidāsa in the sixth century A. D.

Bhaudāji.

Mr. K. B. Pāṭhaka and Mr. Kern also accept the same view (6th century A. D.).

K. B.
Pāṭhak.

Mr. R. C. Datta in his "Brief History of Ancient and Modern India" and M. M. Pandit Haraprasād Śāstri in his "A School history of India" have placed Kālidāsa and his patron Vikramāḍitya in the 6th century A.D.

R. C. Datta
and H. P.
Śāstri.

Mrs. Manning.

According to Mrs. Manning Kālidāsa flourished about 502 A. D.

Wilson.

Prof. Wilson places Kālidāsa in the 10th century A. D. while Mr. Bentley supposes the date to be the 12th century A. D.

S. Roy.

The late Mr. S. Ray, Principal of Vidyāsāgara College, has placed Kālidāsa in the B.C. He has further proved that the poet lived in the court of Agnimitra who owing to his great power was styled Vikrama and lived in the 2nd century B. C. The learned commentator Kātyāyana also opines that Kālidāsa was a court poet of Agnimitra. This is most probably a reasonable date of our great poet. We give below the the summary of Prof. Roy's argument in his own words :—

1. That neither Prof. Maxmüller, nor Prof. Macdonell has given good reasons to disbelieve the tradition assigning 57 B. C. to Kālidāsa.

Bhita-medallian.

2. That from the Bhita-medallian it ought to be obvious that that Kālidāsa lived before Christ.

Form and style.

3. That from the absence of artificiality in his style he appears to be older than the Girnar and Nasik inscriptions of the second century A. D. This corroborates (2).

(4. 5.) That from the history of certain words, Sanskrit seems to have been the spoken language of the learned at the time of the

poet. From the free use of Vedic forms in his writings he seems not to have been influenced by Pāṇini's grammar and to belong to the post-Pāṇinian period of transition from Vedic to Sanskrit literature which probably extended from 300 to 100 B. C. This is another confirmation of (2).

6. That from allusions to Buddhism and its patronage by royalty in the *śakuntalam* the poet seems to have flourished soon after Aśoka. This too points to the period 300 to 100 B. C. and confirms (2).

Allusions
to Buddhi-
sm etc.

7. That from considerations of style, and taste of our poet, he seems to have been older than Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddhist poet of the 2nd century A. D., which again supports (2).

Style and
taste etc.

Now let us discuss these conflicting theories regarding the age of our poet one after another.

In Northern, Western, and Southern India there were several Vikramādityas from the first century before Christ to the Seventh after.

Vikramā-
dityas.

The discovery of the *Aihole* inscription and Vāṣas' mention of Kālidāsa in his *Hārṣa-cārīta* point to the seventh century A. D. as the downward limit of Kālidāsa's date. Thus the 10th and 12th century theories fall at once to the ground and require no further discussion.

Aihole ins-
cription.

Examination
of Karore
theory.

Next comes the *Korore Theory* or the *Theory of Fergusson*. Alberuni says that king Vikrama defeated the Mlecchas in the battle of Korore fought in the year 544 A. D. Fergusson holds, as said before, that Vikrama era was founded to commemorate this victory dating its beginning 600 years back at 56 B.C. The theory on the very face of it is impossible and childish. Western India having come under the control of Gupta kings before the 6th century A. D., the Scythians could not have been driven out of it at that time by Vikrama. Besides, with the discovery, of the *Mandasor* inscription the theory of Karore collapses. The theory of Dignāga and Kālidāsa's indebtedness to Ārya Bhaṭṭa have also shared the same fate with the Korore theory as has been shown before.

Vikramā-
ditya, the
royal patron
of Kālidāsa

From the beginning of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth there were several Vikramādityas amongst the Imperial Gupta's of Northern India. Of these Candragupta I and Candragupta II have a fair claim to be this Vikramāditya. The latter was a Hindu monarch when Buddhism was on the decline and Hinduism had already been reviving. But they never seem to have made Ujjayini as their capital. Their Capital Pāṭliputra and Kausāmbī are not mentioned by Kālidāsa. Their successor Skandagupta, the

last king of the line, is supposed by some to be Vikrama finding the inroads of Huna host in his kingdom under Toramana. Seeing the name of the Hunas in the Raghuvamśa Mr. K. B. Pāthak also lays much stress on the sixth century theory. But Prof. Apte has discussed all these points at great length and shown that the Hunas established a powerful empire from the middle of the 3rd century B. C. to the end of 1st or 2nd century A. D. just beyond Bactria.

History does not supply us with any king of the name and fame of Vikramāditya in the first three centuries of the Christian era and there is no material sufficiently strong to enable us to discard the tradition altogether, according to which Vikramāditya, the royal patron of Kālidāsa, lived in 56 B. C.

Time of this
royal patron

In the first century B. C. the powerful ruling dynasties of India were—(1) the Sungas (2) the Andhras and (3) the Kāṇvas. The existence of Vikramāditya Śakāri in the first century B. C. does not seem to be a myth altogether. There is mention of a Śakāri king in the Nāsik inscription of the first century A. D. and we can place Kālidāsa in his court. We give below the arguments supporting this B. C. theory as can be gathered from what has been discussed before along with some new additions.

The powerful
dynasties ruling
in the first
century B. C.

Batsabhatti. (1) Batsabhatti, the author of Mandasor inscription, discovered by Mr. Fleet of Bombay Civil Service, lived in 472 A. D. The author of this inscription copies several ideas from Kālidāsa and the latter must therefore have lived before the former.

Asvaghose. (2) Asvaghosa's Buddha Carit having some passages similar with Raghu and Kumāra some suppose that Kālidāsa took his cue from Asvaghosa ; but Kālidāsa was an original poet while Asvaghosa was more a philosopher than a poet. Therefore it seems more probable that the latter borrowed his ideas from the former. The date of Asvaghosa being 125 A. D., Kālidāsa must have flourished before that time provided the former conjecture is true.

Bhitamedallion. (3) The terra-cotta medallion of Bhita in Allahabad (mentioned by Principal Roy at first) is almost a fac-simile of a portion of the first act of Śakuntalā. The medallion, as the discoverer of it says, belongs to the Sunga kings who reigned before the Christian era. There being no contrary proof as to its being a representation from some other book, we may take Śakuntalā as belonging to a period before Christ.

(4) Some internal evidences, too, point to the above conclusion.

(a) The passage from *Sakuntala*—
 “धननिबो नौब्सननापत्री.....राजगानौ तद्य विषयः”—
 shows that the wife could not inherit
 the property of her husband at that time. The
 passage—“चात्मनोवधमर्हतः” in the *Vikramorvaṣī*
 shows that at the time of Kālidāsa
 thieves were chastised with capital punishment.
 These laws were prevalent in Manu's time who
 flourished in the 3rd century B. C. This
 practice vanished before the time of Bṛhaspati
 belonging to the 1st century B. C. or 1st
 century A. D.

Internal evi-
 dences—rites
 and customs.

The absence of reference to the Nyāya
 philosophy, says Mr Apte, in Kālidāsa's works
 (excepting *Raghu* XIII. I and *Sakuntala*—intro-
 ductory verse, which even might be borrowed
 from Sāṃkhya) shows that he must have lived
 before the development of that branch of
 science. Besides, the artificiality of diction,
 the fondness for long compounds, elaborate
 comparisons and ambiguous words which are
 found in the works of Daṇḍī, Bāṇa, Subandhu,
 Bhababhūti, and other mediaeval writers of the
 7th century A. D., are entirely absent in Kāli-
 dāsa's writings. The one literary fashion, he
 says, cannot be supplanted by another in a
 short period of time. This according to him
 took at least some six or seven centuries.

Kālidāsa's
 knowledge
 of philoso-
 phy.

In *Raghu* (VI. 59-60) the poet mentions
 Uragpura as the capital of the Pāṇḍdyas.

Raghuvamśa
on the date
of Kālidāsa.

These Pāṇḍyas according to Dr. V. A. Smith were one of the Dravidian races who fought amongst one another for supremacy. This is corroborated by the text of the Mahābhārata (II. 52. 35), but the Rāmāyaṇa gives prominence to the Pāṇḍyas alone (IV. 41). It is known from history that this supremacy of the Pāṇḍyas was overthrown by Karikala about 1st century A. D. Karikala, it is said, removed his capital from Uragpur to Kaveripattanam. After him the Pāṇḍyas again recovered their position in the reifu of possible Nedumcheliyan and had their capital at Madura about 300 A. D. to the close of their rule. This fact also supports B. C. theory.

Considering all these arguments it will not be unreasonable to place Kālidāsa between 300 B. C. and 100 B. C.

The Mahākāvya

The Rāmāyaṇa the earliest artificial epic, was succeeded by a number of kāvyas ranging from the fifth to the twelfth century A. D.

Raghu and
Kumār
compared.

The two most important Kāvya are Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśam and Kumārasambhavam. They have several stanzas in common, some, though differing in expression, are strikingly analogous in thought. Both the poems have same metre when they describe the same thought.

(1) *The Raghuvamśam*.—The Raghuvamśam consisting of nineteen cantos describes the life of Rāma together with an account of his forefathers and successors. The story agrees closely with that in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki whom Kālidāsa speaks of as the "first poet." The names of the successors of Rāma agree closely with those in the list given in the Viṣṇu purāṇa.

Subject
matter

The narrative in the Raghuvamśa moves with some rapidity. It abounds with apt and striking similes and contains much that is genuine poetry. The style for a kāvya is simple.

Critical
estimate.

More than twenty commentaries on the Raghuvamśa are known. The most famous is the Sañjivani of Mallinātha. He, to the best of his power, finds out and preserves the readings of the poet himself. Of the number of commentators known to him, he mentions the names of Dakṣiṇāvarta and Nātha. Among the other extant commentaries Subodhini deserves mention.

Commen-
tators.

(2) *The Kumārasaṃbhavam*.—Kumārasaṃbhavam has seventeen cantos. The first seven are entirely devoted to the courtship and wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī, daughter of Himālaya. The rich imaginative power and striking originality of the poem find their free scope here. It is conspicuous for its wealth of illustrations.

Subject
matter and
critical
estimate.

The eight cantos form the nucleus of the work—other cantos are later additions.

It is believed by many scholars that the first eight cantos of the book were written by Kalidāsa, the remaining chapters were added to them subsequently. The name of the book also favours the conjecture. The birth of Kārtikeya is the subject-matter of the book. Gods cherished a great doubt in their minds if Śiva could be induced to marry Pārvatī and for this they tried their utmost and at last succeeded in their attempts. The seventh act describes the marriage of Pārvatī and herein is found the germ of the future birth of Kārtikeya, but to make the sense complete the poet perhaps wrote the next chapter which describes the dalliance of Pārvatī with Śiva. But Vidyāsāgar in his 'Discourse on the Sanskrit Language and Literature' says that all the seventeen cantos were written by Kalidāsa and that they exhibit every sign of his writing. This view is certainly open to criticism. Style of the first eight cantos is quite different from that of the remaining cantos. Metrical defects, which are unknown to Kalidāsa's composition, abound in the latter part of *Kumar Samvahanam*. Besides, no rhetorician has taken any example of figures from those cantos.

Like *Raghuvaṃśam* *Kumara Samvahanam* also has striking similes and abounds with genuine poetry. The style is simple and diction elegant. The description is beautiful and unique.

Estimate of
Kumar.

(3) *Bhaṭṭi*—*Bhaṭṭi Kāvya* is a poem containing twenty two cantos. The historical basis of this *Kāvya* is the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. It has the single hero *Dhīrodatta Rāma*. The principal sentiment is heroic. The concluding verses in each canto are a sort of introduction to the incidents of the next. The metrical structure of the verses varies in each canto. The poem opens with an introduction of the subject matter in the shape of an account of the hero's birth. Thus it conforms with the rules of a *mahākāvya*.

The body of the book—its subject matter.

The tradition regarding the composition of the poem is, that once while the poet was teaching his pupils grammar, an elephant happened to pass between them causing a year's suspension of the grammatical studies. During this period the poem was composed as a contrivance to keep up the study of grammar.

Story regarding its composition.

The Book is divided into four chapters called *Prakīrṇa*, *Tiṇanta*, *Adhikār* and *Prasanna*. The first extends over the better part of the work. The second extends over the whole of the work beginning from the fourteenth canto; the third comprises the three cantos beginning from the seventh and deals with the grammatical rules in connection with *ḥatva*, *ṣatva*, *kāraḥ*, *ātmanepada*, *parasmaipada*, *kṛt* etc. The last four chapters treat of figures and

Division of the book.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

charms of poetry These four Kāṇḍas are again subdivided into sections called Pariccheda and Varga

Its another name.

It is otherwise known as Rāvaṇabadham or Rāmāvadānam after the plot of the epic.

Authorship of the work.

Author of the poem—The very name of the Kāvya indicates that it is the work of a poet, Bhaṭṭi by name. But there are scholars who think that Bhaṭṭi is a corruption for Bhartrihari or Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa who is the author of the book. It is very difficult to say who this Bhaṭṭi was and when he flourished. There being no genuine history of Sanskrit authors we are to depend entirely on their writings and on the writings of their contemporaries to ascertain their age and birth place etc.

The concluding stanzas of the poem (22-35) say that the poet composed his work at Balavi that was under the sway of Śrīdhara Sen, whose history is unfortunately wrapt in obscurity. Jaymaṅgal, one of the commentators of Bhaṭṭi Kāvya, attributes the authorship to the renowned grammarian Bhaṭṭa. He believes that the author was a son of Śrī Svāmi and lived at Balavi. Bharata Mallik, another commentator of the poem, holds that Bhaṭṭihari, the elder brother of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain, is the author of this Kāvya.

He was a great grammarian and a poet. Bhaṭṭi only is a contraction of the above mentioned name. The suggestion seems to be possible. Bhartṛhari not only composed Śatakas (Nīti, Śṛṅgāra, Vairāgya) but Vākyapadīya also, which is a grammatical treatise explaining in brief the Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali. The present Kāvya also illustrates the important rules of Pāṇini. So, it is not unjust to think that the epic is supplementary to his former work. As there is nothing to show that Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa lived at Balavī—we reject his authorship.

Personal
history of
the poet—
his learning

The above view is supported by the great grammarians Kaiyaṣa and Mādhavācāryya, but Bhaṭṭoji Dīṣkit takes Bhartṛhari and Bhaṭṭi as different persons in his Manoramā. Besides, in the Bhāgavṛtti, a comment on Pāṇini's system composed about 625 A. D., by Bhartṛhari, is found a verse quoted from the Bhaṭṭi Kāvya for showing its fault. So, Bhaṭṭi can never be identified with Bhartṛhari.

Identifica-
tion of the
poet.

Now Bhartṛhari, the author Vākyapadīya is posterior to 180 B. C. when Mahābhāṣya was written. It is seen from history that Balavi dynasty reigned about 426 A. D. and that Vikramāditya defeated the Hunas at Karore in 544 A. D. So, Bhartṛhari may be placed between 425 and 544 A. D. Bhaṭṭi too had a tikā on the Mahābhāṣya which is prior to Vākyapadīya. So the author

Date of the
poet.

may safely be placed at about 400 A. D. The style and diction of the book too points to the same conclusion.

Though a grammatical treatise the work is not bereft of genuine poetry. The charming description of the autumn and the playing on words are indeed a great compliment to the poet.

Bhaumaka's Rāvaṇārjunīyam deserves mention in this connection. It is a grammatical Kāvya in 27 cantos describing the strife between Kārtavīrjyārjuna and Rāvaṇa and illustrates the rules of grammar like Bhaṭṭi Kāvya but unfortunately falls below its model.

4. *Kirātārjunīyam*.—In the field of kāvya the place of Bhāravi is next to Kālidāsa. The subject matter of the book has been derived from the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārat. It describes in eighteen cantos the contest between Arjuna and Śiva disguised as a fowler, when the former gave himself up to severe penance at the foot of the Himālayas. Mahādev being pleased with Arjuna to see his skill in archery bestowed on him the famous Pāśupata weapon. Agni and other gods too awarded him with several efficacious weapons and a chariot. The fifteenth canto of the poem shows all kinds of verbal tricks like those described in Daṇḍi's Kāvyaādarsa. According to indigenous Pandits the verses of Kirātārjunīyam are fraught with deep significance (*Varaver-*

artha gauravam.) The poet himself too speaks of his composition as '*Prasannagambhīrapada Sarsvatī.*' The dominant sentiment of the poem is heroic. The descriptions of the autumn, the Himālaya Mountain, the rising of the moon, the dawn etc, is indeed charming and can be compared with that of Kālidās. According to Western scholars deterioration of Sanskrit poem begins from the time of Bhāravi.

Critical estimate.

Kāśikā Vṛtti of Jayāditta and Vāman written about seventh century A. D. quotes Bhāravi. The aihole inscription has the name of Kālidās and Bhāravi put together — स विजयते रविकीर्तिः कवितायित कालिदासभारविकीर्तिः. The dates of the inscription is 634 A. D. If we place the poet a century earlier than this date then it would not be unwise to take his time to be the earlier part of the sixth century A.D.

Date of the poet.

5. *Śiśupāla Badham.*—This describes in 20 cantos how Śiśupāla, King of Cedi, was slain by Viṣṇu. It goes also by the name of Māgha Kāvya after its author who lived perhaps in the 9th century A. D. It has striking similarities with Bhāravi's Kirātārjunyam. The very plot and the diction of the poem show that the author was much influenced by Bhāravi.

Subject matter.

According to Bhoja Prabandha Māgha was a contemporary of King Bhoja of

Dhārā. Ananda Vardhan of the 9th century quotes Māgha in his Dhvanyāloka. Mr. Duff believes that Māgha flourished about 860 A. D. Considering all these points the poet may be placed between the eighth and ninth century A. D.

The wide range of knowledge of the poet is apparent everywhere in his poem. His style is similar to that of Bhāravi and is less stiff than Harsa.

6. *The Naiṣadha Caritam*.—This is held in high esteem by all Indian Paṇḍits. It describes the story Nala, King of Niṣadha and his love to Damayanti, the princess of Vidarbha. The message of the lover through the swan is beautifully depicted in it. The present work containing twenty two cantos describes Damayanti's marriage by self-choice. Tradition says that once it contained one hundred and twenty cantos. Harsa is the author of the work. We find in the body of the book that he wrote several other poems also. The work abounds in mythology and pictures of the society of his time. It is famous for its sweet and melodious diction (नैवै पदवाचिन्). The style is not simple but cumbrous and ambiguous. It is a stumbling block even to an erudite.

Of his other works the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa khādy a criticism on the works of Udayan,

Gaudor-*viśakula-Prasāti*, Canda-*Prasāsti* (the panegyrics on his royal patrons) *Arjavavarṇana*, *Śiva Bhakti Siddhi* and *Sāhsāṅka-carit* are important. He flourished probably by the latter half of the twelfth century A. D.

These six artificial epics are recognised as *mahākāvyas* and all of these have been commented upon by Mallinātha. Of these the first three are termed *Bṛhatṭrayī*, while the last three are known as *Laghutrayī*.

Mahākāvya

7. *The Harakāvya*.—The *Harakāvya* is an extensive *Mahākāvya* in fifty cantos. This according to Kalhana was written by Ratnākara towards the close of the 9th century A. D.

Harakāvya

He lived under Avanti Varmā according to Kalhana. But according to his own statements he was a servant of Jayāpīḍa. He wrote also *Vakrokti Pañcāsika*, and *Dhvanigāthā Pañcikā*, the former is a collection of crooked sayings passing between Śiva and Pārvatī.

The author of the work.

8. *The Nalodayam*.—The *Nalodayam*, an epic, though attributed to Kālidāsa, is unmistakably a product of a much later age.

Nalodaya.

9. *Satrunjayamāhātyam*.—It is a poem of 14 cantos describing the love-stories of fictitious persons. The author Dhvanēśvar lived under king Śilāditya or Śriharṣa who reigned in Kanauj from 605 to 615 A. D.

Satranjaya-māhātmya.

10. *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyam*.—Kavirāja, the author of the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyam*, flourished about 800 A. D. The ślokas are composed in such a way that they tell the story of the Rāmāyaṇa and of the Mahābhārata at one and the same time.

The name of the poet appears more to be a surname than the name proper. According to Duff's chronology Śruta-kīrti is the author of the poem who is mentioned in an inscription dated 1130 A. D. If this be true the poet must have lived between tenth and the eleventh century A. D.

11. *The Nāva Sāhasaṅkacarit*.—The author was a court poet of king Muṇjā (974—994) and Sindhurāj (995-1010). So the work was composed towards the close of the tenth century. It is a poem in 11 cantos and is otherwise called Parimal. It alludes to the history of Sindurāj, king of Mālava. It also furnishes us with the mythical account of the princess Śaṣiprabhā.

12. *Jānakīharaṇam*.—The author of the poem is Kumār Dās, king of Ceylon, of the sixth century A. D. The poem describes in 15 cantos the beauty of Ayodhyā and carries it uptill Rāma's marriage in details. The remaining portion completes the stories abruptly in a few chapters. The poet was an admirer of Kālidās and imitated him in style, subject-matter and the use of the figures of speech. It is said that the book was at first complete in 25 cantos.

13. *Kumāra Pāla Caritam* :—It was written by Hemcandra who was born in 1088 A. D. He was a Jaina monk and through his influence Jainism was encouraged and a number of Vihāras was constructed. The book gives the history of Anhilvid princes in details and ends with an eulogy to Kumāra Pāla. It has twenty-eight cantos of which the first twenty are written in Sanskrit and last eight in Prakrit and for this reason it is called (द्वायय काव्य).

Subject matter and date

The work illustrates his Sūtras. Hemcandra was not only a poet but also a grammarian, lexicographer and rhetorician. Among his works the Abhidhān Cintāmaṇi, Deśināmamālā and Alaṅkāra Cūḍāmaṇi deserve mention.

His other works.

14. *Dharma Śarmābhyudaya* :—Hari Candra the author of the poem who belonged to the Digambara Jaina sect describes in 21 cantos the life of Dharmānath, the fifteenth Tirathāṅkara. Mention of this is found in the first act of Rāja Śekhara's Karpūra Mañjarī, who lived in the ninth century A. D. Therefore the time of the poet would be about eighth century A. D.

Date and subject matter.

15. *Kādambarī Kathā Sār* :—It is an epitome of the story of Vāṇa's Kādambarī in verse by Abhinanda. He was a Kāśmīrian

Date and
subject ma-
tter.

poet and his fourth ancestor lived in the court of Mukṭāpīḍ (726 A. D.). He was patronised by Haravarṣa, a descendant of Dharma Pāl. He can safely be placed in the earlier part of the ninth century A. D.

Date and
subject ma-
tter.

16. *Kaṣṭhābhijñāna* :—It is found in manuscript. The name of the author is Bhaṭṭa Śiva Swāmī. He is quoted in Vallabha Deva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*. He was one of the court poets of Avanti Varmā of Kāśmir (855—884 A. D.). This poem closely follows Śiśupāl Vadham in diction and style.

17. *Bhārat Mañjarī* :—It is a summary, written in easy poetry, of the eighteen parvas of the Mahābhārata of Vyāsa by Kṣemendra, a Kashmirian poet, who lived under the patronage of king Ananta, who reigned about 1050 A. D. He wrote also *Rāmāyaṇa Mañjarī* that summarises the seven kāṇḍas of Vālmīki's work in easy Sanskrit. His *Vṛhat Kathā Mañjarī* translates into classical Sanskrit, the *Vṛhat Kathā* of Guṇādhyaṇya, which is supposed to have been written in the Paisāci Prākṛit*. In his translation he has not omitted even the minor incidents of the original. The style of the book is simple and smooth and resembles that of Bilhana. He wrote besides *Lāvaṇya-vatī* and *Mukṭāvalī*—two short poems and *Daśāvatāra Carit*, the last describes the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu.
भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुः षडुत्तरीं बृहत्कथां—वाच्यदर्श ।

tions of Viṣṇu.

18. *Vikramāṅka Deva Carit* :—It narrates in eighteen cantos the life-sketch of Vikrama, the patron of the Bilhana, the poet. The patron of the poet according to General Cunningham Ham reigned from 1028 to 1088 A. D. His work describes a Cola War. Bilhan speaks of Bhoja of Dhārā as his contemporary. As a poet he ranks very high. There are many beautiful passages in the work, one of which is the most touching description of Ahava malla's death. His verse is sweet and flowing and his language clear and simple.

Date and
subject
matter..

19. *Soma Pāl Vilās* :—This describes the life of king Soma Pāl of Rājapuri in Kāśmīr. The king was defeated by Sussala in 1118 A. D., and the work must therefore have been written by the first half of the twelfth century. Moṅkha, a contemporaneous poet, speaks of him as the author of a short poem called *Mugthopadeśa*.

Date and
subject
matter

20. *Jayantavijaya*.—It is a poem written by Abhaya Deva. He flourished about 1148 A. D. The book in 19 cantos describes the Victory of King Jayanta over his enemies.

21. *Bhuvanabhyudaya*.—The author of the book is one Saṅkuka. The poem describes the dreadful battle between Mamma and Utpala, which was fought in 850 A. D. It is said

Subject ma-
tter and
date.

Date and
subject ma-
tter.

that the current of the Vitasta was stemmed by the dead bodies of the soldiers.

Date and
subject ma-
tter.

22. *Surathotsava*—The poem was written by Someśvar Dāṭṭa who lived towards the close of the twelfth century. The book describes in fifteen cantos the history of Suratha of the Caitra race, but it depicts simultaneously the political history of the reign of Vāstupāla allegorically.

Date and
subject ma-
tter.

23. *Sukṛt Saṅkīrtan*—It is a poem in eleven cantos by Ari Siṃha who flourished in the thirteenth century A. D. The Book is important historically as it affords us with informations how Someśvar Dev was overpowered by his enemy.

Date and
subject ma-
tter.

24. *Rāmpāl Carit*—It is a poem by Sāndhyākar Nandī. It describes the feats of Rāmpāl, the powerful king of Bengal, who recovered his ancestral kingdom from the hands of Bhīma and conquered Mithilā. He reigned from 1084 to 1130. A. D.

25. *Śrikanṭha Carit*—It was written by Maṅkhaḍās between 1135—45 A. D. It describes in 25 cantos how Tripura was killed by Mahādev. The description of Kailās, Śiva, spring season, sport; in water, rising of the moon etc, is very charming and occupies the first twelve cantos of the book. The remaining cantos give the preparation for the

war, the array of Śiva's soldiers and the fight between Śiva and Tripura. The last chapter has the description of his brother's court.

26. *Setubandha*—It is ascribed to Kālidāsa, but most probably it was written by the Kāśmīrean poet, Pravarasen, who succeeded Mātṛ Gupta. The epic in Prākṛit describes the construction of the bridge over the sea by Rāma and the destruction of Rāvaṇa. This was written perhaps to commemorate the building of a bridge of boats across the Jhelum (वितस्ता) by the royal poet himself.

Subject matter.

27. *Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya*.—This was written by Vāsudeva in the twelfth century A. D. The book has eight chapters and the subject-matter has been derived from the Mahābhārata.

Date and subject matter.

28. *Bala Bhārata*.—It was written by Amar Candra about the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. The author was a powerful poet. The story of the Mahābhārata is narrated in the order of the parvas here. He wrote besides Chando Ratnāvali and Jinendra Caritam.

Date and Subject matter.

29. *Candra Prabhā Carit*.—It is a poem in 17 cantos by Vīra Nandī who flourished in the thirteenth century A. D. The book begins with a description of king Kanak Prabhā and his line and ends with Indra's incarnation

Subject matter and the Date

as Jina. The tenet of the Jaina religion has been summarised in the last canto.

Date and
Subject matter.

30. *Sahajdayānanda*.—The poet gives an account of Nala, King of Niṣad. Kṛṣṇānanda, the author, flourished about thirteenth century A. D. He is quoted by Viśvanāth in his *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* and is known to have commented on the *Naiṣadha Carit*.

Date and
Subject matter.

31. *Jāḍavābhyaśayā and Pādūhāsahasra*.—Of Vedānta Deśika, who lived between 1268—1376, are good poems. The former describes the advent and life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the latter constitutes of one thousand verses in praise of Rāma's sandals. The poet was a follower of the Rāmānuja school and his image is worshipped even to this day. He was a scholar and a poet and was conversant with every branch of art or literature. For this reason he acquired the title of सर्वज्ञतन्त्रज्ञ.

Date and
Subject matter.

32. *Kārttavīrya Vijayam*.—This was written by Candra Cūḍ towards the close of the 15th century A. D. The poem in 14 cantos describes the story of Kārttavīryya. The work is characterised by grace and melody.

Date and
Subject matter.

33. *Harivaṃśasār Carit*.—It was written by Govinda in the 17th century A. D. The poem in 23 cantos describes the story of Harivaṃśa. The language of the poem is unrestrained and natural and is indeed an improvement upon its original.

34. *Rāmacandrodaya*.—It is a long poem of 30 cantos by Venkatesvar describing the history of Rāmcandra. It was composed in 1645 A. D.

Date and
Subject ma-
tter.

35. *Śivalilāṇava*.—It was composed by Nilkaṇṭha in the first half of the 17th century A. D. The poem in 22 cantos describes the history and actions of Śiva. His Gangāvataṛaṇ, a poem, consisting of eight cantos, narrates the story of the descent of the Ganges through the effort of Bhagīrath.

Date and
Subject ma-
tter.

He wrote several other minor poems, of which the Kali Vidambanam, Sabhārañjanam and Anyāpadeśa Śatakam deserve mention. As a poet Nilkaṇṭha ranks very high. He is highly imaginative and his language is very natural.

His other
works.

36. *Abdullā caritam*.—This describes the life of the king-maker Sayyid Abdullā. The author Lakṣmīpati lived after the death of Aurangazeb. There is a frequent influx of Persian words in it.

Subject ma-
tter.

37. *Harṣa Carit Cintāmaṇi*.—It was written by Jayrath in the 12th century A. D. It is a store-house of Śaiva myths and evidences of Śaiva faith and belief.

Date and
Subject ma-
tter

38. *Gauḍa Vaha*.—It was written by Vāk-patirāj. The language of the book is Prākṛt. It describes the defeat and death of a Gauḍa

king by Yaśovarmā of Kanauj. This Yośovarmā was overthrown and killed by Lalitāditya, king of Kāśmīr about 740 A. D.

39. *Kīrtti Kaumudī*.—It was written by Someśvara in the last part of the twelfth century or about the middle of the thirteenth century. The book describes the greatness of a Cālukya prince.

Date and
Subject matter.

THE PROSE ROMANCES.

We first meet with prose in the Yajurveda and after it in some portions of the Atharva Veda. After the vedic period we meet with prose in the Brāhmaṇs, especially in those of the R̥k Veda. The निरक्त of वाल्मीकि (who according to Prof Gold Stuker and Dr Vincent Smith flourished about eighth century B. C.) is written in a very sweet and placid prose. The commentaries on Indian philosophies written by Śaṅkar, Rāmaṇuj, Vācaspati Miśra, Śaṅkar Svāmī, and others are good specimens of old Sanskrit prose. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali written about 200 B. C. has also lucid and simple Sanskrit. Carak, Śuśrut and some other medical treatises too have prose portions in them. The prose of the Mahābhārat and of some Purāṇas and Dharma Śāstras also deserve mention in this connection. Of the Purāṇas, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa has the oldest prose writing.

A Short notice of prose.

1. *Daśakumāra Caritam*.—Daṇḍī is the

author of this book, who flourished about 6th century A. D. Some scholars identify him with the author of Kāvyaḍarsa, while others raise a dispute and say that the writer of the Daśākumāra Caritam can not be the writer of the Kāvyaḍarsa, as the former book does not conform to the rules laid down in the latter. But this only should not be taken as a criterion for such a remark. From the time of Kāvyaḍarsa and the style followed in the Daśākumācaritam it seems to be probable that both the works were written about the same time (6th century A.D). There being no other prominent poets at that time excepting this Daṇḍī, who composed Kāvyaḍarsa, we may take unhesitatingly that he was the author of both the books.

Daṇḍī—
his date and
identification

Daśākumāra Carit may be classed under Ākhyāyikā. It is not complete. The book, as we find it, is divided into two sections called 'Pūrvapīṭhikā' and 'Uttarapīṭhikā.' The Pūrvapīṭhikā has described in five chapters the adventures of two Kumāras and the Uttarpīṭhikā has the unfinished tale of Viśruta. It is supposed by many a scholar that these two sections were added to the original by some other persons after the death of Daṇḍī.

Daśākumār
carit—its
division.

The plot of the book is as follows :—

Rājahaṃsa, the king of Magadha, betook

himself to the Vindhya mountain being defeated by the king of Malawa. The queen consort gave birth to a son called Rāja Vāhana there. It so chanced that nine sons were born to the king's ministers and friends at the same time and they were brought before the king. These ten boys lived and grew together and learnt the Śāstras and the use of weapons from expert teachers. Being asked by a disciple of the sage Vāma Deva, the king, sent Rāja Vāhana with his nine friends for the conquest of the world. They started and came to a deep forest and lived there for a night. At dead of night, when all the boys fell asleep, a hunter came to Rāja Vāhana and asked him to help him in getting the kingdom of the nether world. Rāja Vāhana consented and followed him to the nether world. There performing some magical charms as instructed by Mahādeva in the dream of the hunter, he was able to marry Kālindī, the daughter of the demon king and got from her a jewel as a present. One wearing this jewel would not suffer from hunger, thirst or any sort of privations. Rāja Vāhan now started for that forest and was rewarded with that jewel by the hunter as a token of love for him and for the benefit he rendered to him. Raja Vāhan came to the spot but to his utter disappointment could not find any of his comrades there. After a time

Story of
Daśakumār
carit.

they met together perchance and related their own adventures. Each of these tales is full of wonderful action and describes the vitiated state and the taste of the society of the time. The power of description of the author is, indeed, very high and charming. The Vaidarvī style is predominant though interspersed with Gaudī style. The work abounds in figures of speech and has the sweetness of diction.

Literary
estimate.

2. Vāsava-lattā—This is written by Subandhu who lived in the middle of the 7th century A.D. He like Menṭha and Vāṇa was skilful in using ambiguous diction. Vāṇa, the author of Kādambarī and Harṣa Carit, holds him in high esteem. His Atidvayī kathā refers to Vāsava-Dettā* and Brhatkathā. There was another Vasavadattā also written by Kātyāna as mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya. The expression “बौद्धसङ्गतिमिवावदृत्तमुपित्तम्” certainly refers to the work, Baudhasangatyalaṅkāra of Dharma Kīrti. Besides, it refers to Udyotakar also as can be inferred from the expression—“नान्यस्यैतिसिधोद्योतकरखरूपम्”. Both these authors lived in the 6th century A. D. So, the time given to our author is not impossible. The plot of the book is given in brief below :—

The author
—his time.

King Cintāmaṇi had a beautiful son, named Kandarpaketu. Once he saw Vāsava-

* कवीनामगलत् दर्पो नूनं वासदवक्ष्या !

Story of the
book.

dattā in dream and set out with his friend Makaranda in quest of this unknown girl. While living in the Vindhya he comes to learn from the conversation of an indignant Mayna bird and her husband that Vāsavadatta, the beautiful daughter of Śṛṅgāra Śekhar of Puṣpapur, had a charming vision of a youth of peerless beauty and sent her confidant Tamālikā to bear to the youth her faith and the difficulty in their union at Puṣpapur. The king wearied at the unwedded condition of his daughter wanted to marry her with the Vidyādhara chief, Puṣpaketu. Kāndarpaketu went with his friend and met Vasavadattā secretly. Both of them fell in love with each other at the first sight. Advised by Kalāvati, the handmaid of Vāsavadattā, the lovers fled to the Vindhya hill by means of a magic horse and fell asleep there. Kāndarpaketu awoke and to his utter despair could not find Vāsavadattā there. He wailed in various ways and went here and there in search of her. At last he came to a deep forest and found the stone-statue of Vāsavadattā. In his ecstasy he touched the statue, which at once assumed the form of Vāsavadattā and related how through the curse of the sage of the grove she turned to a stone-statue. The book abounds with long compounds and ambiguous diction.

3. *Harṣa Carit*:—Vāṇabhaṭṭa has written two famous prose romances—*Harṣa Carit* and *Kādambarī*.

Harṣa Carit seems to be his first work. In the introductory verses of the book he has named some famous poets and their works. From those verses we come to learn that the fame of poets Bhāsa, Kālidās, Pravarā Sen, Śāta Vāhan, Hari Candra and Subandhu spread throughout the country at that time. The poet was an early friend of *Harṣa Vardhan* (Śilāditya) of Kanauj (606—667 A. D.) and his court poet. The book is famous historically as it gives the life-sketch of king *Harṣa* and a sort of the poet's autobiography. The work, though full of long of compounds and obscure passages yet, betrays the great power of description of the poet.

Poet Vāṇa
and his
Harṣacarit.

Its impor-
tance.

4. *Kādambarī*—In the introductory verses of this book the poet gives a short description of his family. It is divided into two parts, the first part was written by the poet himself and the second by his son Bhuṣan Vāṇabhaṭṭa. The work falls under the section of *Kāvyas* called *Kathā*. The subject matter of the book was taken from the *Bṛhat Kathā* of Guṇādhyāyā. The plot of the book is as follows.

Introduction
of the work.

Once a Candali girl came to the court of King Śūdraka with a parrot confined in a cage. The parrot described its life story.

Tārāpīḍ, King of Ujjaini, had a minister Śukanās by name. Both the king and the minister had no issue. But in course of time through the grace of God there was born a son to Tārāpīḍ named Candrapīḍ. Śukanās too had Vaiśampāyan as his son at the same time. Candrapīḍ and Vaiśampāyana were great friends. They grew together and brought up under the royal care. When they finished their study Candrapīḍ got a horse Indrāyudha by name from his father. Tārāpīḍ made princess called Patralekhā captive in a war and this Patralekhā attended upon Candrapīḍ constantly. Śukanās made Candrapīḍ conversant with politics. And the king sent them with a large army for the conquest of the world. After a time the prince occupied the fort of the Kirātas situated on the summit of the Hemakūt mountain.

Once following a Kinnara pair, Candrapīḍ fell off from his army and went astray. Being unable to find out his path he wanted to pass his night on the bank of a beautiful lake. When he lay there a beautiful tone

Story of the
book.

Story of
Mahāśve. 3

entered into his ears and pursuing it he reached a temple of Śiva lying by. There he found an ascetic girl, Mahāśvetā by name, who being asked by the prince related her piteous tale to him. Once she loved Puṇḍarik who died an untimely death. She wanted to follow him in his funeral pyres but ceased from her attempt on hearing a voice from heaven that they would be re-united soon. With the hope of this re-union she was passing her days in that way.

Mahāśvetā had a bosom friend Kādambarī by name who too resolved not to marry if Mahāśvetā would not change her mind. Mahāśvetā took Candrāpiḍ to Kādambarī and they fell in love with each other. Candrāpiḍ being commanded by his father had to return to Ujjayinī. Here ends the first part.

Story of
Kādambarī

In the second part Bhuṣaṇa Vāṇa Bhaṭṭa has brought about the union of Kādambarī with Candrāpiḍ and that of Puṇḍarik with Mahāśvetā.

Marriage of
Kādambarī
and
Mahāśvetā.

The book is full of long compounds and ambiguous terms. The skill of narration is found at every step. Prof. Wilson has described it as a deep forest with thorny shrubs barring the entrance of the reader to it.

Critical estimate.

Kādambarī
kathāsār.

5. Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa of *Kāsmīr* who lived in the ninth century A. D. had given the essence of the above work in beautiful prose called Kādambarī Kathāsār. He speaks of him as contemporaneous with Rāja Śekhar.

Subject matter.

6. *Tilak Mañjarī*—In the earlier part of the eleventh century Dhanapāl wrote this book. The book has derived its name from Tilak Mañjarī its heroine. The poet has imitated Vāṇabhaṭṭa at every step both in diction and subject matter, but his attempts are a complete failure.

Date and
Subject matter.

7. *Bhoja Prabandha*—It was written by Vallala most probably in the 16th century A. D. It gives the life-sketch of king Bhoja of Dhārā who was famous for his munificence, learning and encouragement for learning. The poet makes Kālidās a contemporary of Bhoja. The book has no historical value.

N. B.—Besides we have *Drātrīṃśat Puttalikā* (it is ascribed to Kālidāsa) and *Vetāl Pañca Viṃśati* written in prose.

CAMPU

The Champu is a kind of elaborate and highly artificial composition which is in prose and in verse, both intermingled. This sort of composition is not met with before the tenth century A. D. The *Vikrām*

A short notice of Champu

KĀVYAS OR COURT EPICS.

Bhaṭṭā wrote Nala Campū and Madālasa Campū at the earlier part of the tenth century A. D. It is said that he lived during the reign of the Rāstra Kūta King, Indra.

The Jibandhar Campū of Hari Candra was perhaps written towards the close of the tenth century. This Hari Candra is not identical with one mentioned by Vāṇa in his Harṣa Carit. Soma Deva's Jasastilaka Campū was written about the same time. Jibandhar campū

The Rāmāyaṇa Campū of Bhoja Rāja was composed in the eleventh century A. D. This Campū is otherwise known as Bhoja Campū after its author. According to Prof. Keith it was composed after the reign of Bhoja. The Rāmāyaṇa or Bhoja campū

The Gopal Campū was written by Jiva Gosvāmī in the sixteenth century A. D. Gopal campū

The Nīlakāṇṭha Vijay Campū of Nīlakāṇṭha was written about 1637 A. D. It is an important work of the Vaiṣṇava section. Besides we have Campū Bhāgavat of Abhinava Kālidās (fifteenth century A. D.), Viśva Guṇādarśa Campū and Hastigiri Campū of Venkatadhvarī (seventeenth century A. D.) etc. which also deserve mention. Nīlakāṇṭha Vijay campū

Exercise

1. Mention and characterise the main classes of epic poems. What reasons are there for holding that the Mahābhārata in its present form is an amplification of an older and simpler form ? (1909 p.)

2. What is known as to the history of Kāvya literature ? What light is thrown upon that history by inscriptions ? State and characterise Prof. Maxmüller's Renaissance Theory (1909 H, 1930:p.)

3. State and criticize the different theories regarding the date of Kālidāsa. (1910P, 1912P, 1929H)

4. What evidence is there for determining the date of the Rāmāyaṇa ? (1910H. 1912P 1929. 1934H 1932P)

5. Discuss the date of the composition of the Mahābhārat ? (1911P, 1933P, 1935H.)

6. Name the Principal Purāṇas which disseminate the cult of Śiva, and write short notes on Kathāsarit-Sagar, Mṛcchakaṭika and Nava Sāhasaṅka Carit. (1911P)

7. Indicate the distinguishing characteristics of the two main classes of Sanskrit epic poetry. Discuss the evidence as to the time at which the Mahābhārat may have attained its ultimate form. (1911H.)

8. What has been ascertained as to the history of the text of the Rāmāyaṇa ? On what evidence have attempts been made to determine its age ? What are the main characteristics of its style ? 1912.

9. Give some account of Sanskrit prose literature (1913P, 1924P.)

10. State and examine the theories held by modern scholars as to the composition of the Mahābhārata. Contrast the spirit and form of the Mahābhārata with those of the Rāmāyaṇa (1913H)
11. Give a brief history of Kāvya literature and a somewhat detailed account of one work of that class. (1913H.)
12. Either name the eighteen Purāṇas or discuss the date of the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa. (1914.P)
13. On what basis may conjectures regarding the age of the Rāmāyaṇa be formed? On what grounds have certain parts of the poem been held to be later additions? (1914P).
14. Give a general account of the prose romances in Sanskrit with details as to any one of them.
15. Either enumerate the principal purāṇas or comment on the following observations—The careful investigations of Prof. Jacobi have shown that the Rāmāyaṇa originally consisted of five books only. 1915P
16. Discuss—The researches of the late professor Bühler and of Mr. Fleet render untenable Prof Max-Müller's well-known theory of the Renaissance of Sanskrit literature in the sixth century (1915 p.)
17. Either discuss the date of the composition of the Mahābhārata or state what you know of the time and place of the origin of the Rāmāyaṇa. (1916.)
18. Discuss the historical basis of the Mahābhārata. What Vedic traditions have been preserved in it? (1917.)
19. Give an account of the several recensions of the Mahābhārata and of the Rāmāyaṇa (1917 p.)

20. Explain the position of the Mahābhārat in the Sanskrit literature and discuss the date and method of its composition. (1918, 1922.)

21. Describe the origin and development of Sanskrit epic poetry. (1919 p.)

22. Clearly state the theory of Jacobi as to the age of the Rāmāyaṇa. (1919.)

23. Discuss the antiquity of the Rāmāyaṇ or of the Mahābhārat. 1920.

24. Point out the distinctive features of the Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature. 1920.

25. Explain the plot of the Rāmāyaṇa and explain the date of its composition. (1921.)

26. Give a concise survey and general estimate of the Kāvya literature with some details of one or two principal works discussing in this connection the so called Renaissance theory of Maxmüller. 1923.

27. Either narrate the general characteristic of the works going by the name of Purāṇas or discuss the remarks—'The Rāmāyaṇa originally consisted of five books. 1925.

28. (a) "The Māhābhārata in its present shape contains an epic nucleus and in course of time it has become a comprehensive didactic work."—Discuss.

(b) What evidence have we regarding the origin and history of the Mahābhārat and the stages by which it attained its present form ? 1926.

29. Discuss the so called Renaissance theory of Maxmüller and its bearing upon the early history of Sanskrit Kāvya literature. 1926.

EXERCISE.

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30. How do you know that Sanskrit court poetry was in existence in the first five centuries of the Christian era. 1927 p.
 31. Give a brief account of two of the historical Kāvyaas and mention their authors. 1929 p
 32. Trace the origin and growth of the Mahābhārat. 1930. p
 33. In any case our Mahābhārat is not only the heroic poem of the battle of the Bharatas but at the same time also a repertory of the old bard poetry,— Explain briefly. 1932 p.
 34. What is in your opinion the exact position of the Purāṇas in the history of the Indian literature, both according to contents and chronology ? 1933 p.
 35. Give a brief account of the development of the historical kāvya literature. (1932 p.)
 36. Write an essay on the different types of the Purāṇas.
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CHAPTER IX

BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

Age of Buddhist Literature.

Buddhist Councils and Pīṭakas

The approximate age of Buddhist Literature may be a few years before or after 485 B. C. Almost the whole of the oldest Literature of the Buddhist consists of collections in the form of conversations, songs, narratives and canon of the order. According to Buddhist tradition the first Buddhist council was organised by the immediate disciples of Buddha with a view to establish a canon of the order. This resulted in the composition of the Sutta-pīṭak and Vinaya-pīṭaka. The second council was held at Vaiśālī a hundred years after the death of Buddha with a view to revise the doctrine of the first council. According to the report of the chronicles of Ceylon real canon of sacred texts was compiled during the third council which was held at the time of Asoka. These canonical compilations came to be known as 'Tripiṭakas' or three baskets. These are Vinaya-Pīṭaka, Sutta pīṭaka, and Abhidhamma pīṭaka.

Vinaya-Pīṭaka contains all that refers to the monastic community. It

prescribes rules of the discipline of the orders and the precepts for daily life of the monks and nuns. Benoy Piṭṭak.

Sutta piṭṭaka literally means a basket of short rules. It gives a long or short explanation of religion in the form of a dialogue. It consists of five Nikāyas or great collections of Sūtras. Sutta Piṭṭak

It is believed by the Buddhists that Abhidhamma piṭṭaka or a basket of the higher subtleties of the doctrine, does not contain the sermons of Buddha but those that were composed by his disciples. The work chiefly refers to the Psychological foundations of the Buddhist ethics. Abhidhamma Piṭṭak.

There are two communities among the Buddhists, the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna. The scriptures of the former have been written in Sanskrit or mixed Sanskrit and those of the latter in Pāli. The Hinayānists call them 'Therāvādi.' According to them the scriptures of the Mahāyāna community are artificial, while those of theirs are simple and genuine as they were direct instructions of Buddha himself. Buddhist communities.

The distinctions existing between these two communities may briefly be stated thus. They who have attained nirvāṇa are called *Arhats*. Their death is known as *Pari-nirvāṇ*. These *Arhats* are chiefly divided into Distinction between these communities.

three sections—Buddha, Pratyeka Buddha and Śrāvaka. Of these who acquire perfect knowledge by themselves without receiving instructions from others are known as Buddha and Pratyeka Buddha, with this difference only that the one may attain *nirvāṇ* and make others do it, while the other lacks in the latter capacity. Those who attain *nirvāṇ* on hearing instructions from the Buddhas are called Śrāvakas.

According to both these communities *nirvāṇ* is attainable through the observance of tenfold vows, called Pāramitās. These are—Dān, Śil, Kṣānti, Vīrya, Dhyān, Prajñā, Upāya, Bala, Praṇidhi, and Jñyān. All except Prajñā are common to all. Śānti Dev has given a full description of these ten ways in verses in his Bodhi Caryyāvatāra, which is a brief account of his Sūtra Samuccaya.

The Buddhistic literature being very vast we give below only a short description of some of these books.

1. *Dhammapaṇḍa*—It is a collection of pithy sayings composed in Pāli verses. The work is divided into eight sections called vaggas, each of which contains ten uttas. The book aims at blissful repose of mind and the attainment of *nirvāṇ*.

2. *The Jātakas*—These are mostly occupied by legends described in Pāli language. Some of these are analogous to the dialogues of the Upaniṣads and the Mahābhārat. The main theme of the book is to depict the previous life of Buddha in the forms of birds, beasts etc.

A brief account of Jātakas.

3. *Dīpavaṃśa*—It is a history of Ceylon in Pāli verses written about 4th century A. D.

Dīpavaṃśa

4. *Mahāvamśa*—It is a perfect epic composed probably by Mahānām towards the close of the 5th century A. D. in Pāli. It speaks of the story of Gotama Buddha and especially the history of Buddhism in India. The story of Bejoy Singh is also depicted here. From historical point of view the Mahāvamśa tīkā is a work of greater importance written between 1000 and 1250 A. D.

Mahāvamśa its subject matter.

We learn from Mahāvastu quotations that there was a Dhammapada in Sanskrit canon also divided into vaggas, and that its style corresponds to that of the Pāli Dhammpada.

5. *The Mahāvastu*—It is a work in mixed Sanskrit and describes the life of Buddha. This is a treasure-house of Jātakas and other narratives. It is written partly in pure prose and partly in mixed prose and verse.

Mahāvastu.

Story of
Lalitavistar

6. *The Lalit vistar*—It is one of the most sacred of the Mahāyāna texts and is otherwise known as Vaipulya Sūtra or discourse of great extent. It gives a splendid picture of the Buddha with divine hallow shining around him. The narrative begins with the biography of Buddha and forms the subject matter of the book. There are many wonderful stories described here with relation to the Buddha in a very charming way.

Subject matter of Buddha carit.

7. *Buddha Carit*—Asva Ghosh, the author of the book, is one of the most prominent poets of Sanskrit literature. He flourished during the reign of King Kaṇiṣka of the 2nd century A. D. In it the poet has given the intrinsic truth of the Buddhist doctrine in a noble and artistic way. The Buddha carit is a mahākāvya or great epic and is possessed of all the main characteristics of the great epic.

8. *The Saundarānanda Kāvya*—This also was written by Asva Ghosh. The book gives the life story of Buddha and along with it describes beautifully the story of lovelorn Nanda, the half-brother of Buddha. The plot of the book is as follows—

A brief account of Saundarānanda Kāvya

Suṇḍari, the beautiful wife of Nanda mourns her lost husband and Nanda too longs to be back with his beloved. The attempts of the monks to calm him ends

in smoke. The Buddha takes him with himself and ascends to heaven. He showed to Nanda the Apsaras in heaven. Then the master asked him if his wife was as beautiful as the Apsaras. Nanda answered in the negative and hankered after the apsaras. Ananda explains to him the frail nature of heavenly bliss and Nanda is convinced at last, and goes to Buddha to receive instructions from him and through his grace attains liberation.

9. *The Vajrasūci*—This is also ascribed to Asva Ghosh. The work betrays an intimate knowledge of the poet regarding Brahmanical literature. In it he refutes the Brahmanical caste-system very sarcastically. The Chinese translation (973—981 A.D.) ascribes the book to Dharmakīrti.

Vajrasūci.

10. *Sāri Putra Prakaraṇ*—It is a drama found in fragments and ascribed to Asva Ghosh. The subject matter of the book is the conversation of Sāri Putra and his friend Maudgalyayana regarding Buddhism.

Subject matter.

11. *Sutrālaṅkāra*—It is preserved in a fragmentary condition. This too was composed by Asva Ghosh. The book has been written in prose and in verse resembling the mode of classical style. The substance of Jātakas and Avadānas are given here.

Subject matter

12. *Jātakamālā*—It was written by Āryya Sūr. The book narrates the anecdotes of Buddha's actions in his previous births. It is composed in prose and verses intermingled and is important for its historical interest.

13. *Catuśṣaṭī*—The author of the book is Āryya Dev who flourished in 250 A. D. He has attacked the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the Ganges to remove sin and acquire merits thereby very cuttingly.

14. *Śiṣyalekha Dharma Kāvya*—It was composed by Candrar Gomin. It is a treatise on instructions in the form a letter to a disciple dealing with the essential doctrines of the Buddhist faith.

15. *Suhyallekha*—The author Nāgārjun has depicted the Buddhist doctrine here very nicely for the use of his patron, a king. Nāgārjuna is undoubtedly the author of the commentaries Prajñā Pāramitā Sūtra Śāstra and Daśa Bhūmī Vibhāṣa Śāstra. Besides he is the author of a number of books and translations on various subjects.

16. *Mahāyān Sūtrālaṅkāra*—The author of the book is Asanga, brother of Vasubandhu, who flourished in 4th century A.D. The book is overloaded with technicalities and written in correct but undig-

nified Sanskrit.

17. *Kalpanamāṇḍitikā*—It has been edited by Prof Luder in fragments found in central Asia. The author of the book is Kumāralāta. It throws a flood of light on the developement of Kāvya literature.

The Āvadāna literature.

The word Avadāna signifies a noteworthy deed and generally in the good sense of a heroic deed. These are stories to illustrate that black deeds bear black fruits and white deeds white fruits. The Avadānas like Jātakas, are a kind of sermons. A regular avadān consists of a story of the present and a story of the past with a moral attached to it. When the story of the past is in relation with the Bodhisattva it is called Jātaka. Both the Avadānas and Jātakas explain the law of Karma under an allegory.

A short notice of Avādāna literature.

1. *The Avadānaśataka*—It is the oldest of these kinds of books. It was translated into Chinese in the first of the 3rd century A.D. The work belongs to the Hinayāna school. Buddha-worship forms the prominent part of the legend. This is consisted of ten decades and deals with a particular subject in every story. It contains also Jātakas.

Avadana
Satak.

2. *The Karma Sataka*.—It is very much like the Avādāna Sātaka and has a number

Karma
Satak.

of legends in common with it. The book is found in Tibetan translation only.

3. *The Divyāvadān*—Narratives here begin and end in the same manner as they are found in the Avadān Śatak. The composition of the work is very confused and disconnected, and the language and style too are not in agreement with the subject matter.

4. *The Avadān Kalpalatā*—It was written by the Kāśmīrean poet Kṣemen dra in 850 A.D.

JAINA LITERATURE

1. *Upamitibhavaṇṇa kathā*—It was written by Sidha or usually known as Siddharṣi in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This famous allegorical romance has described the existence in symbolical terms. It is divided into eight books called Prastāvas. The work aims at how a man by auspicious deeds can attain to salvation. He wrote also the Ādi Purāṇ.

A brief account of the work.

2. *Triṣaṣṭhi Salākā Puṇṣa Caritam*—It was written by Hemcandra Sūri in the 11th century A.D. He was a prolific writer and had written Grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics. The seventh parva of the book is called the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa. The book gives the life-sketches of 63 Jinas.

Subject matter.

who were born before and would be born again.

3. *Harivaṃśa Purāṇ*—It was written by Jina Sen in the 8th century A. D. The book describes in 68 sargas the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Balarām. Another *Harivaṃśa* in 39 sargas was written by Sakala Kīrti in the 15th century A. D. Subject matter.

4. *Pāṇḍava Carit*—It was written by Devaprabha Sūri in about 1200 A. D. It describes the contents of Mahābhārata in 18 Sargas in a concise form. Another *Pāṇḍava Purāṇa* which is known as *Jaina Mahābhārata* was written in 1551 A. D. by Śubha Candra. An account of the work

5. *Mahāpurāṇa*—It was written by Jina Sen and Guṇa Bhadra. The work describes the life of sixty three Jinas and consists of Ādipurāṇ in 47 chapters. Subject matter.

6. *Neminirvāṇ*—It is a Mahākāvya in 15 cantos by the poet Vāgvaṭa. It deals with the life story of Nemināth, a Jina. Subject matter.

7. *The Pārśvanāth Caritra*—It was written by Bhavadev Sūri in about 1255 A. D. It not only gives the life story of the saint but deals in details also with his last incarnation. Subject matter.

8. *The Tīrtha Kalpa*—It is otherwise known as *Kalpa Pradīp* and *Rāja Prahlād*. The book was written by Jina Prabha Sūri between 1326 and 1331 A. D. It furnishes us A brief account of the work.

with a description with the Jainistic places of pilgrimages with the names of their founders.

9. *Yaśastilaka*—It was written by Somadeva Sūri in about 959 A.D. It is written in prose and verse based upon Guṇa Bhadra's Uttar Purāṇ. This depicts the life of king Māri Datta who gave himself up to sensual pleasure when he ascended the throne. There at the advice of his family priest he makes preparation for a great sacrifice and learns from the victims of the sacrifice, who were his own relatives, the gist of the Jaina religion. The king was at last converted to the Jaina faith.

10. *Kathā Koṣa*—It is a treasure house of stories compiled by some unknown authors. It is curious to note that the last story in the book refers to Nala and Damayantī of the Mahābhārat in Jainistic adaptation. There are many charming fairy tales described in it.

11. *Moharāja Parājaya*—This is an allegorical drama by Jaśahpāl describing the defeat of king Delusion. It was composed between 1229 and 1232 A. D. The book in five acts narrates the conversion of king Kumār Pāl to Jainism and his marriage with Kṛpā sundarī.

12. *Ratana Mandira Stotra*—It consists of forty four stanzas composed by the famous Siddha Sen Divākar. The Stotras are in honour of Pārśvanāth.

CHAPTER X

LYRICS (200 B. C.—1800 A. D.)

Poetry that is fit to be sung to the lyre is called lyric poetry. The individual thoughts and the feelings of the poet constitute lyric poetry. It is a free and unrestrained outburst of the poet's heart that is full to the brim with overflowing thoughts. When the heart is convulsed with passion, sorrow or emotion, the poet gives expression to it in the shape of lyric poetry. So this kind of poetry is the product of the inmost soul of a particular individual. Shelly's *Adonais*, Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and poems of like nature are specimens of lyric poetry. Sanskrit lyrical poetry has not produced many works of any considerable length. We give below the description of a few of them

A short notice of lyrical poetry.

1. *Meghadūta*.—Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* is a lyrical gem which won the admiration of Goethe. It consists of 115 stanzas. The subject-matter of the poem is a message sent by an exile to his wife who dwelt far away at Alaka through a cloud. The book is divided into two parts called Purva Megha and Uttara Megha.

Subject matter.

2. *Rtusamhāra*.—Kālidāsa's *Rtusamhāra* consists of 153 stanzas. It describes in six

Subject
matter.

chapters all the various seasons. This displays the poet's sympathy with Nature, his keen power of observation and his skill in describing seasons in vivid colours.

Ghatakarp-
ra.

3. *Ghatakarpāra*.—A lyric poem consisting of 22 stanzas is named Ghatakarpāra after its author. The verses are full of erotic sentiments. The date of the poem is not known.

Subject
matter.

4. *Caurapañcāśika*.—The Caurapañcāśika or the Fifty Stanzas of the Thief is a lyrical poem containing considerable beauty. Bilhana, the author of the book, belonged to the latter half of the 18th century. It is said that the poet fell in love with a princess and when detected was sentenced to death. But he pleased the king by his work and was let off.

Subject
matter.

5. *Śṛṅgāraśataka*.—Bhartṛhari's Śṛṅgāra Śatakam deserves mention here. This deals with erotic sentiment. The poet lived in the first half of the seventh century A. D.

Subject
matter.

6. *Śṛṅgāratilakam*.—This consisting of 22 stanzas is attributed to Kālidāsa. But it is undoubtedly the work of a later poet. This, though full of erotic verses, has much originality in it. According to Mr. Hillebrandt it was written by Kālidās.

Subject
matter.

7. *Amaruśatakam*.—Amaruśatakam or *Hundred Stanzas of Amaru*, describes skilfully the various stages of estrangement and reconciliation. The poet lived perhaps in the 9th century A. D.

8. *Saptaśatakam*.—This was written by Hāla in Prakrit before 1000 A. D. Gobardhana translated these in modern Sanskrit under the title of *Āryāsaptasatī*. His critical estimate of poets and their poems is indeed charming.

Subject
matter.

9. *Anyokti Muktaśata*—of Sambhu and Anyokti Śatak of Viresvar are poems of the nature of *Āryā Śapta Satī*. Both these were written in the eleventh century A. D.

Date and
author.

10. *Bhāmīnī Vilās*—of Jagannath who lived in the 17th century A. D. during the rule of Sajahan is a good lyrical poem. Besides this, he composed several *ślokas* known as *Pijūṣa Laharī*, *Sudhālaharī*, *Amṛita Laharī* etc, which too are genuine specimens of lyrical composition.

The author
and his
works.

11. *Sabhā Rañjan Śatak*, *Sānti Vilās*, *Śivotkarṣa Mañjarī* etc. of Nīlkaṇṭha, contemporaneous with the poet Jagannāth are good lyrical poems.

N. B.—There is an overwhelming number of *ślokas* in Sanskrit written by various persons at different times, which can appropriately be taken under this head. Though short, they are indeed good specimens of lyrical poetry. Their number would exceed a thousand. Many of them have been compiled by some publishers under the name of *śloka-mālā*, *śloka-sar*, *śloka-ratna* etc,

Stotras occupy the place of lyrical poetry.

Subject matter and critical estimate.

12. *Gitagovinda*.—The *Gitagovinda* represents the transitional stage between pure lyric and pure drama. Its author Jayadeva, a native of Bengal, was a contemporary of a Bengal king named Lakṣmaṇasena who lived in the twelfth century A. D. It is famous for its grace of diction and smoothness of style.

Part played by Nature in lyrics.

Nature in Sanskrit Lyrics.—Plant and animal worlds play an important part in all the lyrics. The bright eyes and beauty of Indian girls are often compared to blossoming trees, fragrant flowers, songs of gay birds, and also to lotus-ponds bathed in tropical sun shine, &c.

ETHICAL POEMS

1. *Ethical poems*.—There are several ethical poems in Sanskrit. Of these the *Nīti* and *Vairāgya Śatakas* of Bhaṭṭarhari (600 A. D) *Sānti Śataka* of Śilhana, the *Mohamudgara* of Sāṅkarācārya, Cāṇakya *Śataka*, *Nītimāñjari* of Dya Dviveda, *Sadukti-karṇābharaṇa* of Śrīdhara Sena (1205 A. D.), *Sāraṅgadharapaddhati*, and *Subhṣītāvali* of Ballavadeva are important.

The three *Śatakas* (*Nīti*, *Vairāgya*, *Sānti*) are attributed to Bhaṭṭarhari belonging to the Royal house of Ujjaini. But these *Śatakas* seem to be of later origin. They are interspersed with Vedantic phraseology. Several doctrines of the purāṇas also are referred to in these works. According

to Prof. Wilson these were written about the 10th or 12th century A. D. Some think that Bhartṛhari explains chiefly the doctrines of the Vedānta System of Philosophy in these works, though here and there he refers to Yoga doctrine also. The style is simple and lucid. But the meaning is sometimes obscure on account of an attempt at brevity.

Śaṅkarācāryya's Mohamudgara consisting of several stanzas describes very beautifully the transitoriness of the world and the way to attain salvation. It is believed that he composed these verses and left them under the care of one of his disciples when he with a view to learn Kāmaśāstra entered into the body of king Amaraka. The disciple was advised by him to chant these verses before him if he would unfortunately be addicted to worldly pleasures forgetting his real mission.

Mohamud-
gar—its
brief
account

The Dhammapada in Pāli deserves mention here. It is a collection of aphorisms representing the most beautiful, profound and poetical thought in Buddhistic literature. The keynote of these works is the doctrine of the vanity of human nature.

Dhamma-
pada.

ANTHOLOGIES OR COLLECTION OF VERSES.

1. *Kavindra Vacana Smuccaya*—This seems to be the oldest of its kind. It was compiled perhaps in 1200 A. D.

Date.

2. *Sadukti Karṇāmṛta*—It was compiled by Śrīdhar between 1200 and 1205 A. D. Verses of some 446 poets have been collected in it. It is a matter of great joy that most of these poets hail from Bengal.

3. *Subhāṣitāvali*—Some 3500 slokas of 350 poets have been collected in it by Vallava Dev who lived in the 15th century A. D. Most of the original works of the poet referred to here are missing.

4. *Śaṅgadhara Paddhati*—It was compiled by the famous physician Śaṅga Dhar who flourished in the 14th century A. D. The work contains six thousand verses composed by 264 poets.

5. *Vṛhat Stotra Ratnākara and Mahimna-stava*—It is a collection of many stotras. The last mentioned one was composed by Puṣpa Danta who lived in the 9th century A. D. He adores Śiva with a view to regain his power which he lost owing to his touching the flowers and bel-leaves by feet, that were offered unto Mahādev.

CHAPTER XI

DRAMA*

The Sanskrit rhetoricians divide kāvya mainly in two ways—Dr̥syakāvya and Śravya kāvya. Now kāvya is रसात्मकवाक्य, therefore a drama according to Hindu rhetoricians is a composition that can evoke intellectual pleasure and is suitable for representation on the stage. The main function of drama is to employ dialogue to represent a harmonious action springing from circumstances of actual life before us that can be taken to be real.

Drama—its definition.

The earliest form of dramatic literature according to Dr. Hertel and Prof. Macdonell, can be traced to the dialogues of the R̥gveda, such as, those of Saramā and Paṇis.

Sources of drama.

- * नाटकं ख्यातवृत्तं स्यात् पञ्चसन्धिसमन्वितम् ।
पञ्चादिका दशपरास्तादाङ्काः परिकीर्तिताः ।
प्रख्यातवंशी राजर्षिर्धौरीदातः प्रतापवान् ।
दिव्योऽयं दिव्यादिव्यो वा गुणवान् नायको मतः ॥
एक एव भवेदङ्गी शङ्करो वीर एव वा ।
अङ्गमन्ये रसाः सर्वे कार्यनिर्व्वहणेऽङ्गुतम् ।
चत्वारः पञ्च वा सुख्याः कार्यव्यापृतपुरुषाः ।
गोपुच्छायसमागन्तु बन्धनं तस्य कीर्तितम् ॥

1. दृश्यव्यव्यवभेदेन पुनः काव्यं द्विधा मतम् । दृश्यं तत्राभि-
नेयं स्यात् । साहित्यदर्पण ।

Yama and Yamī, Pururavāh and Urvasī etc.,¹ as also to the Vedic rites which did not consist merely of the singing of songs or recitation of hymns in honour of the gods, but involved a complex round of ceremonies in which the performers of the rite assumed for the time being personalities other than their own. Prof. Keith has described elaborately in his 'Drama' that in the Mahāvratā sacrifice there are sufficient materials for the development of Drama and that there undoubtedly were present elements of dramatic representation. Of various elements which enter into a drama the songs of the Sāmaveda and the use of ceremonial dances occupy the highest place.

According to Profs. Hillebrandt and Sten Konow the drama traces its origin to popular mime along with national epics. Prof. Pischel holds that the puppet play was at the bottom of Sanskrit drama and that India is the cradle of drama, whence it has spread over the world. He believes that dramas had their origin in shadow dramas. Prof. E. B. Hoerwitz is of opinion that Indian drama has its origin in the recitation of national songs at a social or religious gathering. According to Prof. Ridway the time honoured custom of honouring the great led to the development of Hindu drama. So this had its origin in ballads

1. Kalidas took the last mentioned dialogue as the burden of his immortal drama Vikramorvaśīyam.

DRAMA

composed in honour of the actual exploits of famous heroes and distinguished persons. Some scholars however suppose that dramas began with a combination of Vedic hymns in a dramatic form and with religious dances. This is borne out by the fact that the Sanskrit word for play (Nāṭaka) and actor (Nāṭa) have sprung from the root 'nat' the Prākṛt form of the Sanskrit root 'nṛt. to dance.

It is believed by the Hindus that the art of drama was at first fully developed in heaven by the divine sage Bharata (whom Bhababhuti calls तौर्व्यविकसूत्रकार in his Uttara caritam) and then it came down to earth.

Hindu belief regarding the origin of drama.

The most primitive sense of the term, *drama*, is *deed* or *action* but ere long it came to mean representation by persons. According to Aristotle tragedy and comedy which are among those arts have the general conception of 'moves or imitation'. Hence according to some dramatic literature represents action—an idealised representation of human life. Imitation is indeed at the bottom of the rise of drama as it is designed to reproduce events which have already happened or are supposed to be happening.

What does a drama mean?
The rise of drama.

It is closely connected with epic and lyric with this difference only that the former has only the spoken words, while

Connection
of drama
with the epic
and the lyric
and its di-
ference from
them.

the latter always requires action. Emotion of the poet, as in the lyric, does not constitute the plot of the dramatic poet, he must take his subject matter from religion, history or the actual life of man. The subject matter of lyric poetry is therefore opposed to that of drama. The subject matter of epic poetry is also drawn from religion, history or life ; but the epic poet speaks in his own person, whereas the dramatic poet lets the characters speak for themselves.

Connection
of drama
with the
pictorial.
What
constitutes
drama?

It is linked also to the pictorial art which lacks in spoken word and hence is static, whereas, dramatic art is continuous throughout. It is more akin to music and the dance. Though the origin of drama is wrapped in obscurity still it can be inferred that it was originally purely religious and that it formed a part of magic art. Tradition also declares that the first dramatic representation in the presence of gods consisted of three elements—*śāstra*, *śāstra* and *śāstra*. They owe their origin to the national epics to a certain extent.

to the second century B. C. Therein we find the mention of representations of the *Kaṁṣa Padham* and *Balibandham*.

Fragments of Indian palm-leaf manuscripts found in Central Asia show that dramatic literature was flourishing several centuries earlier in the Kusān period. The discovery of Asvaghosa's fragments of drama has shattered the theory of Prof. Levi. It shows that drama had attained a very definite and complete form long before the advent of the π s. The Girnar inscription of Rudra Dāman (about 150 A. D.) and the inscription of Saka Ushava Dāta or Rishava Datta (124 A. D.) point to the above conclusion. The theory that the Western Kshatrapas introduced Sanskrit drama, also falls to the ground from the above facts.

When did
drama flourish ?

The history of drama must be inferred from (1) the plays themselves, (2) from works dealing with the arts of dramatic composition and dramatic representation, (3) from references in other literatures, (4) and from a consideration of the popular theatre which continues still to flourish in India. In his "A Bibliography of Sanskrit Drama" M. Schuyler notices the names of 500 Sanskrit dramas. The number itself, which has come down to us, is a sufficient guarantee for the rich and varied development of the dramatic literature. This is corroborated also by treatises on the cons-

History of
drama—its
development.



truction and representation of the plays numbering more than a dozen. Of these treatises the Nāṭya Sūtra of Bharata, the Daśarūpa of Dhanañjaya, the Nāṭaka Candrikā Alamkāra of Rūpagosvāmī, the Nāṭya Darpaṇa of Rāmacandra and the Sāhitya Darpaṇa of Viśvanātha Kavirāja deserve mention. Only a few old works have references to the representations of dramatic literature. The Harivaṃśa speaks of a नाटकीकृतराजायण, the authorship of which is ascribed to Vālmiki. Bhababhūti in his Uttaracaritam perhaps refers to this when he says, "तस्यैव कीदृशे कदेनः सन्दर्भात्तरेण रसवानभिनेयार्थः कृतः तं च स्वहस्तेलिखितं मुनिर्भगवान् व्यसृजद् भरतस्य मुनेस्तौद्यविकसूतकारस्य" (Act. IV). Epics,

Age of drama.

generally do not mention anything regarding dramatical literatures. Patañjali, as has been said before, mentions the names of कंसयधम् and यक्षियन्सम् by way of illustration of dramatic or graphic presentation. Pāṇini's mention of नटसूत्र, a text book for directions or rules for actors, ascribed to Śiālin and Kṛṣṇaśva also shows that dramatic literature had had its development even before the time of Pāṇini. Though the origin of drama is wrapped in obscurity, still it may fairly be stated that Indian drama flourished side by side, if not earlier than, the Greek drama.

According to Aristotle a drama must have.

(1) unity of action, (2) unity of time and (3) unity of place. The चार्थ नाट्यशास्त्र recognises the first fully and the second to a

Greek and Indian theories of drama.

certain extent. It does not recognise the third at all.

According to the *unity of action* all incidents of the play should converge to the same point, *i. e.* they should directly or indirectly help the principal action of the drama to come to its close nicely. According to the *unity of time* no drama shall exceed in duration a day. According to the *unity of place* all dramatical scenes should be laid in one place. The *संस्कृत* does not observe the second and third unities in many places. The drama is a state or condition in *संस्कृत*, but in Aristotle it is an action. Acting is common in both but dancing is not valued much by Aristotle. Both lay great stress on the plot over much. The division of characters as *high, middle* and *low* is akin to the Grecian *ideal, real* and *inferior*. Indian stage was quite different from that of Greece. Greek dramas have chorus, while it is absent in Hindu dramas. *संस्कृत, विलोक, वद* etc. are entirely absent in Greek dramas. Similarly the five junctures or *व्यङ्ग्य* of Hindu drama, though not expressly mentioned, are found in, as Mr. D. N. Basu points out, European dramas' too.*

Unities—
how far they
are observed

Similarity
or disparity
of Hindu
drama with
European
Drama.

* See *संस्कृत-सामान्य-विज्ञान* by Devendranath Basu.

TYPES OF DRAMA

1. *Nataka*—The subject-matter of drama is drawn from tradition or religion. The hero is

What constitutes a Nāṭak

either king or a royal saint or a god appearing in human form. The dominant sentiment of the play is either heroic or erotic with other sentiments as subsidiary. The tragedy being unknown in Sanskrit, the end of the play must be happy. It is written both in prose and poetry. The prose must be simple and bereft of elaborate compounds and the verses sweet and clear. The number of acts should not be less than five and more than ten. It should be borne in mind in this connection that a play containing every kind of episodes goes by the name of Mahānāṭaka'

Sakuntalam, Uttara Rāmacaritam, Veṇī Saṃhāram etc fall under this species.

The form and subject matter.

(2) *Prakaraṇ*—It is a social comedy and follows mainly the laws of construction of the Nāṭaka. The subject-matter is a fictitious one chosen by the will of the play-right. Slaves, *bitas*, merchant chiefs and rogues of various kinds find their place here. The dominant sentiment is erotic. The name of the play is derived from the name of the hero or the heroine or from both. Sometimes it is derived from the principal incident in the subject-matter.

Mālatī Mādhav, Mṛcchakatikam etc. fall under this group.

(3) *Samavakār*—This describes something supernatural. The plot is derived from some

Subject
matter and
characteris-
tics.

tale of gods or demons. The Sandhis are omitted here and Vindu (expansion) plays an important part. The number of heroes may reach twelve. The principal sentiment here is heroic Amritamanthan and Pañcārātra etc are the best types of this species.

Characteris-
tics.

(4) *Ihāmṛga*—The play derives its name from the fact that in it a maiden is as hard to attain as a deer, which is sought after. The subject-matter is taken partly from legends and partly from poetic imaginations. The death of a great man should not be shown. The hero and his rival would be noble and haughty. In it Mukha, Pratimukha, Avamarṣa and Nirbahaṇ Sandhis are allowed. The number of acts varies from one to five. Rukminiharaṇ and Vatsarājcarit are the best types of this.

Characteris-
tics.

(5) *Dima*—The heroes of the play are to be gods, demigods or demons : all of haughty types. The subject matter is legendary. It is bereft of Sandhi. Magic, sorcery, combats, and eclipses are shown. Erotic and comic sentiments would not find their place here—the predominant sentiment being fury. The number of acts is four. There shall be neither प्रवेशक nor विष्कम्भक. It should be devoid of graceful manner. Tripurabadha and Manmathonmathan are the best specimens of this.

(6) *Vyāyoga*—It would exhibit a military spectacle, the subject matter here is legendary.

The hero is either a god or a royal saint. It has only one act and the action too extends only for a day. It is full of strife and battle. The erotic and comic sentiments are not allowed. Of the Sandhis *Mukha*, *Pratimukha*, and *Nirvahaṇa* are allowed.

Characteristics.

Pārthaparākrama and Madhyama Vyāyoga are the best of the types.

(7) *Aṅka*—It is, as the name indicates, a single act play. The subject matter is derived from legends with poetical development. The hero is a common folk and the sentiment is कर्ण. *Mukha Sandhi* and *Nirvahaṇ Sandhi* are not allowed here. It is a play within a play. In Rāja Śekhara's *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa* it is called *Prenkhanaka*.

Characteristics.

Śarmiṣṭhā-Yajāti is a master piece of this type.

8. *Prāhāsana*—Here the plot is the poet's invention. It deals with the tricks and quarters of low born people of every sort. There is only one act. *Mukha Sandhi* and *Nirvahaṇ Sandhi* are allowed. The prevailing sentiment is comic. There are three sorts of *Prahasana*.

Characteristics.

(i) *Śuddha* (pure) in which heretics, maid-servants, Parasites and Brahmanas are represented in their appropriate costume and languages ; (ii) The *modified* which represents eunuchs, chamberlains, ascetics in their proper garb and speech ; (iii) The *mixed*—which contains the

Sorts.

Dramas are divided into two main classes—
Rūpakas or Nāṭakas and Uparūpakas or
Upanāṭakas. There are ten different species
of the former and eighteen of the latter. *

Division of
drama

Types of Upanāṭakas.

Of the eighteen varieties of Upanāṭakas
the Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇikā, Saṭṭaka, Troṭaka,
Goṣṭhi, Halliṣa, Nāṭyarāsakā, Śṛigadita etc.
are important.

In a Nāṭikā, the hero must be a gay king
intriguing to attain marriage with the heroine
who is somehow or other introduced into
the royal harem in an inferior capacity. The
jealousy of the Crown queen devoted to the
king at first stands in the way of the marriage
but is induced at last to sanction it. The
dramatic personæ mainly consist of women.

A short no-
tice of Nā-
tikā

-
- नाटकं सप्रकरणं व्यायोग एव च ।
भाणः सनवकारश्च वीची प्रहसनं डिमः ।
ईदृशमग्न्य रूपाणि दृश्यैतानि विदुर्वृधाः ।
गोष्ठीसंलापशिखीच प्रस्थानं काव्यमेव च ॥
उल्लासकं शीघ्रदितं भाणश्चैवाद्य भाणिका ।
दुर्मलिका प्रेषणकं भद्रकं रासकं तथा ।
नाट्यरासकमुल्लाप्यमुपपद्यते नृपि तु ।

भरत ।

In addition to the above Viśvanātha enumerates
नाटिका, वीटक, विलासिका and प्रकरणी, but he omits भाण in the
group of उपरूपक । His हल्लीश may stand for Bharata's उल्लासक,
सदकम् for भद्रकम् and प्रेडनम् for प्रेषणकम् ।

It has four acts and abounds in Prākṛit. *Ratanāvalī* is the best specimen.

Characteristic.

Prakaraṇikā—is precisely of the same character as Nāṭikā excepting that its hero and heroine generally belong to the merchant class.

Characteristic.

Śaṭṭaka—is also a variant of the Nāṭikā. It is written in Prākṛit and has no introductory scene of any kind. The acts are called here यवनिकान्तर । A dance of the Śaṭṭaka type is found in abundance here. Troṭaka is a variant of Nāṭaka with love between a human hero and a superhuman heroine.

A brief account of the work

The Halliṣa, as it appears from the name, is a glorified dance. The Nāṭyarāsaka is a *ballet-cum-pantomime*. The Goṣṭhī has nine or ten men and five or six women as actors.

Shadow play

Besides we have Chhāyā rūpaka or shadow play. Dharmābhyudaya and Dyutaṅgaḍa are the best specimens of this. Prof. Ludas includes Mahānāṭaka in the list of Chhāyā Nāṭak. Gīta Govinda,—though a lyrical poem is capable of a *quasi-dramatic* presentation.

Characteristics of the Sanskrit Dramas.

The characteristic features of Indian dramas are that they are a mixture of tragic and comic in one and the same book. As a rule, a Sanskrit drama cannot or rather should not have a tragic end *i. e.* it should not be a वियोगान्त one. In the course of the entire drama

it emphasises the plot and brings it to a nice perfection in a conspicuous manner. It is very difficult to single out any drama which is entirely devoted either to tragic or to comic interest. A little attention to the plot of the *Mudrārākṣasam* will convince a reader as to how studiously Sanskrit dramatists devoted themselves to the perfection of plot.

Peculiarities
in Sankrit
Drama.

Aim and Nature of dramas.

The aim of the Indian dramatist is not to portray types of character, but individual persons. They do not, like the Greek dramatists, observe the unity of time or place. They often introduce romantic and fabulous elements. They mix prose with verse. They blend the comic with the serious. The character of the *Vidūṣaka* can be compared with that of the fool in Shakespeare. Contrivances are intended to further the action of the drama. No Sanskrit drama can be found which can serve the full purpose of an English drama like Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*.

Nature of
Sanskrit
Drama.

Prologue
and Epilogue

Every Sanskrit play begins with a *prologue* or introduction and ends with an *epilogue* or conclusion.

Sanskrit drama is divided into scenes and acts. The former is marked by the entrance of one character and the exit of another. To show connection between a previous and

A number of works of the famous poet Bhāsa has recently been discovered and edited by Pandit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī.

I.—BHĀSA AND HIS WORKS.

Pandit T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī has proved conclusively in his introduction to the *Pratimā Nāṭakam* that at the time of the poet Sanskrit was the spoken language, that Bhāsa lived before the time of Patañjali and that the poet Kālidāsa was much influenced both as regards his dramas and poetical literature by the works of Bhāsa. In his opinion Bhāsa lived about 4th century B. C.

Bhāsa and his time.

Hitherto thirteen plays of Bhāsa have been discovered. These are *Pratijñā*, *Yaugandharāyaṇa*, *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, *Pañcaratra*, *Bālacarita*, *Abhiṣeka*, *Pratimā*, *Cārudatta*, *Dūtaghatokaca*, *Avimāraka*, *Madhyamavyāyoga*, *Karṇabhāra*, *Urubhaṅga* and *Dūtavākya*.

His works

1. *Pratijñā*—This is a nāṭikā in four acts. The story of the drama is as follows : Once Udayana, King of Vatsa, went a-hunting in the *Nāga* forest. There Sālaṅkāyana, minister of Pradyota, King of Ujjayinī, placed an artificial elephant. When Udayana taking that to be a real one was ready to bring it under his control by playing on the harp named *Ghoṣavatī*, the soldiers fell upon him and took him prisoner. Then Sālaṅkāyana took away his chains and gave him to Pradyota. Pradyota made

A brief account of
Pratijñā
Yaugandharāyaṇa.

over Ghōṣavatī to his daughter, Vāsavadattā and made Udayana a prisoner in the palace. It so chanced that once Udayana and Vāsavadattā met each other and fell in love at first sight. Yaugandharāyaṇa, the minister of Udayana, heard what befell Udayana, was sad at heart and engaged spies throughout the length and breadth of Ujjayinī. He himself taking the guise of a mad man wandered through Ujjayinī and got his own men ready for war. Then when he saw that Vatsarāja was issuing out of Ujjayinī with Vāsavadattā riding upon an elephant named Bhadrāvati in accordance with the instructions of Yaugandharāyaṇa, the latter was unfortunately taken captive by his antagonists. But seeing his uncommon intellect and skill Pradyota released him and sent him back to Kaus'āmbī with due respect.

2. *Svapnanāṭaka*.—This drama in six acts narrates the following story: There was a prophecy that Udayana would marry Padmāvatī, sister of the king Darśaka and regain his whole kingdom. Having belief in this Yaugandharāyaṇa, minister of Udayana, with a view to the quick performance of the marriage, spread the news that Vāsavadattā had been reduced to ashes when the village of Lāvanaka was on fire and placed her in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa woman under the care of Padmāvatī. Vatsarāja though aggrieved

at the loss of Vāsavadattā, wedded Padmāvati. Once Vāsavadattā while sitting beside the sleeping Udayana heard him say something in his sleep regarding her. She touched him and fled away for fear of his being awakened. Vatsarāja awoke and followed her to bring her back, but she, by this time, was out of sight. This made him uneasy. The mother of Vāsavadattā sent to her son-in-law the picture board of her daughter along with Udayana. Padmāvati seeing the picture said that there was a Brāhmaṇa girl, a prototype of Vāsavadattā, near her, whom her brother had placed in her custody. Then when she was brought before the king, the latter recognised her and knowing everything in detail from Yaugandharāyaṇa was highly pleased and lived happily long with his wives.

Story of Svapna Vāsavadattam.

3. *Pañcarātra*.—This is a drama in three acts. Droṇa being asked by Duryodhana at the end of the अज्ञातपुत्र about his honorarium said that he wished that the Pāṇḍavas would get back their kingdom. Duryodhana consented to this provided the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas could be found out within *five nights*. Then Duryodhana, Karna and others went to the country of Virāṭa to take away his cattle. Virāṭa being away from the country at the time, Arjuna, in the guise of Vṛhannalā, with Uttara, son of Virāṭa, attacked the Kaurava

Story of Pañcarātra.

army and signally defeated them. Then it appeared soon after that the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī were there. Druryodhana on hearing that acted up to his word and returned the kingdom to them.

4. *Balacarita*—This is a drama in five acts and describes the feats performed by the young Śrīkṛṣṇa from the sucking of the life of Pūtānā to the killing of Kāṁsa.

5. *Abhiṣeka*.—This drama in six acts describes the story of the Rāmāyaṇa as stated in the Kiṣkindhyā, Sundara and the Yuddha Kāṇḍas. This relates also the installation of Rāma by the gods with the permission of Daśaratha.

6. *Pratimā*—This is a drama in seven acts. The drama traces its origin to the Pratimā or statue, seeing which in the statue-house Bharata was able to infer the condition of Daśaratha on Rama's departure to the forest. The subject matter of the book has been taken from the Ayodhyā and Araṇya Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa. This describes the story of the Rāmāyaṇa up to Rama's coronation in the hermitage after the killing of Rāvaṇa.

7. *Avimāraka*—This play in six acts deals with Avimāraka, the prince of the Sauvīrakas. On account of the curse of a sage, the prince with his parents lived in the city of King Kuntī-

Bālacaritam

Story.

Story.

bhoja, his uncle, in the guise of a Śvapāka. He once saved Kurangṣi, daughter of the king, from a fanatic elephant. Thus there grew mutual love and he lived secretly in the palace with her. Then followed their separation. Then he again came in contact with the princess with the help of the magic ring given to him by Vidyādhara. The period of the curse being over he was again reunited with his parents, uncle and others. Then they knew what happened from Nārada.

Plot of the
Drama.

8. *Cārudatta*.—This play in four acts describes the love of Cārudatta, the hero of the drama, towards Vasantasenā, the heroine. It has a striking similarity with Śūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. It is doubtless that this Cārudatta forms the basis of Śūdraka's drama. The ideas tersely expressed in Cārudatta have been dragged to a tedious length in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

Plot.

9-13. *Madhyaṃavyāyoga*, *Dataṇḍakya*, *Dataḥatākaca*, *Karṇabhāra* and *Urubhaṅga* are the remaining plays of the poet hitherto discovered. Each of these consists of a single act only. The first describes how Bhīmasenā saved a Brāhmaṇa family from the severe grip of Ghaṭotkaca. In the second Śrīkrṣṇa goes to the Court of Duryodhana as a messenger of the Pāṇḍavas. The third relates how Ghaṭotkaca being sent by Kṛṣṇa, who was angry on account of the death of Abhi-

Remaining
Dramas and
their subject
matter.

manyu, acted as a messenger to Duryodhana. The fourth deals with the giving of armour and ear rings of Karṇa to Indra. The very name reveals the subject matter of the fifth book.

II.—KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS.

Kālidāsa.

The earliest authentic reference to Kālidāsa, the greatest poet of India, is an inscription dated 634 A. D. (Jashapur, discovered by Mr. Fleet of Bombay Civil service), in which he and Bhāravi are spoken of as being renowned poets. Bāṇa's reference to him in his *Harṣacaritam* shows that he flourished before the time of Bāṇa who lived in the 1st half of the 7th century. It is not yet finally settled who, Vikrama, the patron of Kālidāsa, was. According to popular tradition he flourished in 56 B. C. But scholars do not seem to be yet agreed on the point. Many of them are of opinion that Vikramāditya, the patron of Kālidāsa, preceded Silāditya II and reigned in the sixth century. Macdonell places Kālidāsa in the 5th century A. D. [For a fuller account see "The date of Kālidās" *ante*.

Śakuntalam, *Vikramorvaśīyam* and *Mālavikāgnimitram* are the existing dramas of the poet. Besides, कुमारसंभवम्, मेघदूतम्, रघुवंशम्, चतुसंहारम्, नलीदयम्, द्रुतयोधम्, शङ्खारतिनकम्, पुष्पावगविलासम्

Kālidās-his
date.

Dramas of
the poet
and his other
works

and ज्योतिर्विदाभरणम् are ascribed to the world poet Kalidāsa.

His style is smooth and flowing. He does not use big compounds like his followers. He is famous for his similes *. In describing nature and tender feelings he all but excels all other poets of the world. But the pandits of India hold generally that 'उत्तररानचरिते भवभूतिर्विशिष्यते' इति ।

Critical
estimate.

1. *Sakuntalam*—This is a romantic drama in seven acts. The plot is derived from the first book of the Mahābhārata and Padma-purāṇa. This belongs to the group of Nāṭaka.

Story of Śakuntalam—Duṣyanta, a descendant of the Puru family, once went a-hunting in the hermitage of Kaṇva and found Śakuntalā, his foster-daughter, watering the plants of the grove with her female friends Anasūyā and Priyaṇvadā. The king at first sight fell in love with her and wedded her in the Gandharva manner. He went away to his capital leaving a signet ring to her. Śakuntalā after the departure of the king was absorbed in his thought. Just then Durvāsāh, an angry sage, appeared on the scene and finding Śakuntalā neglecting her duty cursed her saying that the king would not recognise her without seeing the ring he gave her. Sage Kaṇva on his return home knew everything in time

Plot of Śa-
kuntala.

* उपमा कालिदासस्य भास्वरार्थगौरवम् ।

नेपथ्ये पदलालित्यम् साधे सन्ति तयो गुणाः ।

and sent Śakuntalā to Duṣyanta with-Gautamī, his sister, and two of his disciples. It so happened that on their way to the capital Śakuntalā lost the ring while bathing in Śacītirtha. The king on their arrival before him refused to accept Śakuntalā and Gautamī and the disciples left the royal house in a rage, and Śakuntalā while following them with a heavy heart, was borne away by Menakā, her mother in the sky. Ere long a fisherman was arrested on a charge of theft of a royal ring. The man related the story of his coming by it. The king then recalled everything and felt exceedingly sad. Then came Mātali, the charioteer of Indra, to take him into heaven in order to subdue a foe of Indra. The king went to heaven and defeated the demon. On his way down from heaven to earth he met Śakuntalā with her son Bharata in the hermitage of Mārīca and was reunited with her.

2. *Vikramorvaśīyam*—This play consists of five acts and belongs to the Trōṭaka group. It traces its origin to the dialogue in the Ṛgveda known as Pururavah and Urvaśī.

The story of Vikramorvaśīyam :—Once king Pururavah while returning from his worship of the sun heard a plaintive note. He followed the cry and came across the female friends of Urvaśī. The king was told that the latter was taken away perforce by the demon Keśī.

He at once followed the demon and rescued her from his hands. A natural love grew in them. Urvasī being summoned before the throne of Indra, the lovers parted.

Urvasī played the part of Lakṣmī in the play of *The Betrothal of Lakṣmī* in heaven, and being asked on whom her heart was set she named Pururavah instead of Puru ottama. She was consequently cursed by the teacher, Bharata, but was forgiven by Indra. Indra allowed her to remain with Pururavah till the latter saw his offspring.

Once Urvasī entered into the Kumāra-forest and turned into a creeper. The king was in search of her everywhere but to no purpose. Finally under the influence of a magic stone, the creeper was transformed into Urvasī and they returned to the capital.

Then, as luck would have it, the king discovered his son Āyu. Urvasī must now go to heaven, but then Indra made a new concession and allowed her to remain with Pururavah till his death.

3. *Mālavikāgnimitram*.—The hero of the book belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty reigning at Vidiśā, the modern Bhilsa. This describes the love of King Agnimitra and Mālavikā, one of the queen's attendants. The queen tried to keep her out of the sight of the king but atlast the king saw her and fell

Plot of Mālavikā.

in love with her. At last it turned out that Mālavikā was a princess and therefore there was no objection on the part of the king to marry her.

III.—ŚUDRAKA'S WORK.

Śūdraka, the author of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, flourished before Vikrama at whose court the nine gems lived. The play according to Weber could not have been written before the second century A. D. For it mentions *nānaka* as the name of a coin which according to Wilson is borrowed from the coins of Kanerki, a king, who reigned in the 40 A. D. But a date long subsequent to this will have to be assigned to the drama, since the vernacular dialects it introduces appear in a most barbarous condition. Besides, we get an account of the flourishing state of Buddhism here. Moreover, from the perusal of the drama it is seen that the parts of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa describing wars were a favourite reading at the time of its composition.

Śudraka and his date.

No other work is ascribed to him.

Social condition.

This drama describes the social condition of India of the time more fully than any other of its kind. The plot is woven very skilfully and exquisitely. The execution of the work is also very nice.

1. *Mṛcchakaṭikam*—This play is attributed to King Śūdraka but Daṇḍin was most probably the real author of the book. The book abounds with old rites and customs and the duties of a house-holder. It in ten acts describes the love of Cārudatta, a wealthy merchant of the town of Ujjain, who spent all his wealth in charity and was possessed of an untarnished character, towards a rich courtesan of rare qualities named Vasantasenā. It belongs to the *prakaraṇa* group. The plot of the drama is the best of other Sanskrit plays. The name of the play is taken from an incident of the sixth act where the heroine gives all her ornaments to the hero's son in a *terracotta* cart. The poet most probably flourished in the 6th century A. D.

Social condition during the time of the play.

Story of *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

IV.—BHATTANĀRĀYAṆA'S WORK.

According to tradition Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, the author of the *Veṇīśambhāra*, was the first ancestor of the present illustrious Tagore family. He was a native of Kānyakubja and one of the first of the Gauda Brahmans whom Ādiśūra invited to his Yajña. He is quoted by Mammaṭa who lived between 1150 and 1250 A.D. Bhojadeva too mentions him, so he could not have flourished after 1070 A.D. Dasarūpaka written about the middle

The poet and his age.

Critical
estimate

of the 10th century has reference to this work. Vāmana who lived about the middle of the 8th century A. D. quotes from *Veṇi-saṃhāra* in his *Alaṅkāra Sūtra*. So the drama of *Veṇi-saṃhāra* belongs perhaps to 6th century A. D.

This is perhaps the only play which he wrote.

He has shown his skill in writing heroic play. This drama conforms more closely to the rules of dramaturgy than any other Sanskrit play.

Story of
*Veṇi-saṃ-
hāra*.

Veṇi-saṃhāra.—This is a play of Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa in six acts. It derives its plot from the *Mahābhārata*. This describes the incident of Draupadī's being dragged by the hair of her head into the Court of Duryodhana by one of his brothers and Bhīma's promise of binding up her hair with his hand gory on account of drinking the life-blood of Duḥśāsana after his fall in the battle-field.

V.—ŚRIHARṢA'S WORK.

1. *Ratnāvalī*.—This was written in the first half of the seventh century by Śrīharṣa or more commonly known as Hardeva, king of Northern India. This has many points in similarity with Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgni-mitram* and Bhāsa's *Svapna nāṭaka*. This

in four acts describes the love of Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī and Ratnāvalī, princess of Ceylon, who had been ship-wrecked and found her way to Vatsa's Court. The plot is derived from Somadeva's *Kathāsarit Sāgara*, Bhāsa's *Svapna nāṭaka* and Kālidāsa's *Mālavikā*. This belongs to the *Nāṭikā*-group.

No 2. *Nāgānanda*—The drama in five acts describes the self-sacrifice of Jimūtavāhana. The subject-matter has been taken from the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhyāya. The plot of the book is as follows :—

Source of the drama.

Jimūtavāhana struck friendship with Mitrā Vasu. This man had a sister named Malayāvati. Jimūtavāhana fell in love with her and married her. Once Jimūtavāhana saw a heap of bones and asked for its reason. He came to know that these were the bones of the snakes that were offered unto Garuḍa. One day when Śaṅkhacūra's turn came, Jimūtavāhana went in lieu of him. Garuḍa came to the fixed place at the appointed hour and devoured Jimūtavāhana, but Gaurī showered nectarine juice from heaven and restored life to Jimūtavāhana and the snakes that were devoured by Garuḍa.

Plot of the drama.

3. *Priya Darśikā*—The King of Kalinga was willing to marry Priyadarśikā, daughter of king Dṛḍha Varmā who refused the proposal and got her married with Udayana, King

Plot of the drama.

of Vatsa. The King of Kalinga thereupon made war against Dr̥ḍha Varamā and drove him out of his kingdom. Vijaysena, the commander of the Vatsa king, rescued the princess and brought her before his royal master. Now she came to be known as 'Āranyikā.' This Āranyikā was a cousin of the Queen consort Vāsavadattā. In course of time she was married to Udayana.

VI.—BHAVABHŪTI AND ŪHIS WORKS.

Bhavabhūti.

According to Rājatarāṅginī Bhavabhūti was patronized by Yaśovarmā, King of Kānaúj, who reigned in the middle of the 8th century. Bhavabhūti is quoted by Rājasekhara, who lived in the beginning of the 10th century and also by Maṃmaṭa who wrote Kāvya Prakāśa in the beginning of the 11th century. In the long list of the poets in Harṣacaritam of Vāṇa Bhavabhūti is not mentioned, therefore it is clear that he came after Vāṇa who flourished in the 1st half of the 7th century. Considering all these points we may say that Bhavabhūti flourished in the 2nd quarter of the eighth century.

Bhavabhūti is the author of three dramatic plays.—the *Viracaritam* *Mālatīmādhavam* and *Uttara Rāmacaritam*

Bhavabhūti is a poet of great merit. He

Age of the poet.

Works of the poet.

describes exquisitely the beauty and grandeur of nature. He is not inferior to Kālidāsa in depicting human character and deep pathos. The genius of Bhavabhūti was more of a lyric than of a dramatic nature.

Critical estimate.

Bhavabhūti was a native of Vidarbha in South central India. He is famous for his poetic beauty and feeling, exquisite verse and polished style. As a dramatist he has but moderate power.

1. *Mālatīmādhavam*—This is a prakaraṇa in ten acts and describes the love between Mālatī, the daughter of the minister of Ujjain, and Mādhava, a young scholar studying in that city and son of the minister of another state. The story of Makaranda, Mādhava's friend, and Madayantikā, a sister of the king's favourite, is skilfully interwoven with it. Kāmandakī here serves the purpose of Friar Lawrence in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

Plot of the drama.

2. *Māhāvīra Caritam*—It describes the early life and fortunes of Rāma. Bhavabhūti, here, closely follows Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Subject matter.

3. *Uttara Caritam*.—This is a sequel to the *Māhāvīra Caritam*. This is rather a dramatic poem than a play. It describes in seven acts the banishment of Sītā, the birth of Lava and Kuśa and how they were brought up in the hermitage of Vālmiki. Rāma's Aśvamedha

Story of the play.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Kathāsarīt-sāgara are the sources of this drama. Sources.

The plot of this drama though intricate in nature has nicely been worked out by the author. The work is replete with social rites and customs. Besides, we find in it the illustration of the relation between king and his subjects, husband and wife and friend and friend. Plot.

Mudrā-Rākṣasam—It was written by Viśākhadatta about 500 A. D. and deserves special mention. It is unique in its character. It is a historical drama and describes the ascension of Candra Gupta to the throne of Magadha and the destruction of the race of Nandas by the crooked policy of Cāṇakya and the winning over of Rākṣasa, the minister of the Nanda kings, to the side of Candra Gupta as well. Subject matter.

VIII.—RĀJASEKHARA'S WORKS.

Rājaśekhara.

Peterson assures us that Rājasekhara's date is the middle of the eighth century. According to Mr. A. Borooah the seventh century is his probable date. But Apte after discussing various views comes to the conclusion that Rājasekhara lived between the end of the seventh and the middle of the tenth century, as he is quoted in Date of the poet.

the Daśarūpaka. Mr. Fleet has proved from Asani's inscription that Rājasekhara lived at the beginning of the tenth century A.D. This is now admitted on all hands to be the real date of Rājasekhara.

The four plays, Karpūramañjarī, Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Bālarāmāyaṇa and Bālabhārata are ascribed to Rājasekhara.

Rājasekhara's masterly command over more elaborate metres is one of his most noticeable characteristics. His skill was not restricted only to Sanskrit but in Prākṛt versatility too. He has shown a really remarkable power in these respects. Another prominent literary characteristic of Rājasekhara is his fondness for proverbial expressions. Śārdūla vikṛīḍita, Vasantatilaka, śloka and Śragdharā are his favourite metres.

1. *Karpūramañjarī*.—This is perhaps the oldest of the poet's plays. This belongs to the class of Saṭṭaka. This describes how King Candrapāla married Karpūramañjarī, the daughter of the Kuntala King, and thus became a paramount sovereign.

2. *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*.—This is a nāṭikā in four acts. The author in many respects imitates the author of Ratnāvalī. The story of the play runs as follows : King Candravarman had no son. So he sent his daughter Mṛgāṅkanāvalī, in the guise of a lad, under the name

of Mṛgāṅkavarmā to the queen of king Vidyādharamalla. The king's minister knew who the disguised boy was. He tried to bring about her union with the king, for it was foretold that whoever would marry Mṛgaṅkanāvati would become an emperor. Through some contrivance of the minister the king and the girl met and fell in love with each other. Vidūṣaka played some trick upon the Queen's confidante Mekhalā, whereupon she to have her revenge, gets the king married with Mṛgāṅkavarmā in the guise of a woman. Then comes a messenger from Candravarmā to say that the king got a son and that the disguised Mṛgāṅkavarmā was really the daughter of Candravarmā.

3. *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa*. This is a nāṭaka in ten acts and relates the whole story of Rāma from Sitā's svayaṃbara to the killing of Rāvaṇa and Rāma's return to Oudh.

Subject matter.

4. *Bāla-bhārata*.—The play is also called Pracaṇḍa-Pāṇḍava and contains in violation of the rules of drama only two acts. The subject matter has been taken from the Mahābhārata. It describes the svayaṃvara of Draupadī, how Yudhisthira lost everything in gambling, how Draupadī was dragged into the Court of Duryodhanā and how the Pāṇḍavas departed to the forest with their wife.

Story of the play.

IX—MADHUSUDANA MISRA'S WORK.

The Mahanataka—It is also styled Hanumannāṭaka. There is a tradition that Hanumān, a progeny of Pavana, composed it and engraved it on a smooth rock but not being satisfied with his composition he threw it into the sea. Many years later a learned prince had a great portion of it restored by some expert divers who took impressions of the book on wax. It is also said that Kalidāsa, the brightest jewel of Vikramāditya's Court, rendered it to a perfect drama.

Sometime after Madhusūdana Miśra, a learned Pandit, edited the drama after arranging the ślokas. Since then he has been accepted as the composer of the drama. * But Macdonell says that the author of the drama was Dāmodara Miśra, who flourished in 11th century A. D. The play in nine acts describes the supernatural actions of Rāma and of Hanumān. Besides, it refers to numerous allusions to other parts of Hindu mythology.

Mr. M. Schuyler, Jr., A. M. in his "A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama" writes, "It has fourteen acts in one recension and ten in the other and thus violates the rule which requires

* मधुसूदनमिश्रेण कृतं सन्दर्भशोभनम् ।

रामलीलीद्वयस्यास्य नाटकानुक्रमेण वै ॥

that no (Sanskrit) drama shall exceed ten acts in length'. † Prof. Macdonell also holds this to be of fourteen acts. But Mahārājā Kālikṛṣṇa Bāhādur, C. M. R. A. S., &c. &c. in his preface to the English translation of the Mahānāṭaka says that he collected a dozen of Manuscript copies both ancient and modern, and each of these contained nine acts only. ‡

The Hindus are of opinion that this is the first regular play on the same subject as the Rāmāyaṇa, but in fact Bhababhūti first dealt with the subject of the Rāmāyaṇa in his Vira and Uttara Caritam.

Opinion of
eastern echo-
lars

It is quite without interest to the students of Sanskrit and is nothing but a collection of various authors.

X.—KṚṢṆA MIS'RA'S WORK.

Prabodhacandrodaya—This was written about the end of the 11th century by Kṛṣṇa-misra. This in six acts aims at the glorification of orthodox Brahmanism in the Viṣṇuite sense. This can be compared to the allegorical plays of the Spanish poet Calderon. Reason, religion, will &c. have been personified

Subject ma-
tter.

† पञ्चादिका दशपरास्तवद्धाः परिकीर्त्तिताः ।

साहित्य दर्पण ।

‡ Thus we see that the drama compiled by Dāmodara Miśra has either 10 or 14 acts, while that compiled by Madhusūdan has 9 acts only.

here, and various vices have been satirised. The poet has succeeded in attaining his aim.

XI.—VĀNA'S WORK.

Pārvaṭi-pariṇaya—The drama is attributed to Kālidāsa but in reality it was not written by him. Some ascribe it to Vāmana, the rhetorician, but it seems probable that the work was written by Vāṇa, the court poet of Sriharṣa who flourished in the 7th century A.D.

XII.—KṢEMIS'VARA'S WORK.

Caṇḍa Kauśika.—This drama was written by Kṣemisvara about 1200 A. D. This in five acts describes how Hariścandra through the curse of the angry priest Kauśika (Viśvāmitra) lost his wife and child, the former being sold into slavery and the latter by death, how the patience of the monarch, though tried to the utmost, did not fail him and how in the end by divine intervention his son, his wife and his kingdom were restored to him.

We give below the short description of a few dramas with their authors and time.

13. *Mahendra Vikram*—He was a contemporary of king, Harṣa and wrote *Mattavilās* at the earlier part of the seventh century A. D. It is a farce.

14. *Anaṅga Harṣa*—He wrote a drama called *Tāpasa Vatsa Rāj* in the eighth century

Authorship
of the work.

ry of the
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s.

A. D. The book describes the love story of Udayan and Vāsavadattā.

15. *Mayu Rāja*—In the ninth century A. D. he wrote *Udātta Rāghava* describing the life-sketch of Rāmcandra. Here Rāmcandra did not kill Bālī from a covert but there was a hand to hand fight between them.

Udātta Rā-
ghava.

16. *Murārī*—He composed *Anargha Rāghava* towards the close of the ninth century A. D. His rivalry with Bhavabhūti has sustained a complete failure here.

Anargha Rā-
ghava.

17. *Vilhan*—Towards the close of the eleventh century he composed *Karṇasundarī* in celebration of the marriage ceremony of Mianalla Devi, daughter of the Karṇāta king Jaykeśī with Karna Dev. king of Anihilvar.

Karṇa San-
darī.

18. *Jaydev*.—He wrote *Prasanna Rāghava* in the 12th century A. D. This too deals with the life of Rāmcandra.

Prasanna Rā-
ghava.

19. *Rūpa Gosvāmī*—In the 15th century A. D. he wrote *Vidagdha Mādhava* and *Lalit-mādhava* describing the transcendental love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. He composed besides, *Vanakeli*, *Kaumudī* which falls under the section *Bhāṇā*.

Vidagdha
Mādhava and
Lalit Mādhava.

20. *Uddandī*—His *Mallikāmārut* was written about 1700 A. D. The author is quite distinct from Daṇḍī, the author of *Kāvya-darśa*.

Mallikāma-
rut.

21. *Kāncanācaryya*.—He is assigned to the 12th century A. D. His *Dhanāñjaya Vijay*

Dhanāñjaya
Vijaya.

describes the recovery of Virāta's cattle by Arjun when they were being carried off by the Kurus. This drama belongs to Vyayoga class.

22. *Umāvatī Dhar*—He was a contemporary of Jaydev and lived in the court of Lakṣaṇasen of Bengal. He wrote *Pārijāta haraṇ* in the first half of the 12th century A. D. It is a dramatic piece of Rūpaka class. The subject matter has been taken from the Mahābhārat.

23. *Śaṅkhaḍhar*—He lived under the patronage of King Govindacandra who flourished between 1115 and 1143 A. D. He wrote a Prahāsan called *Latakāmelaka* to entertain his royal master at a spring festival.

24. *Rudradev*.—He wrote a drama, *Yayāticarit* which describes in seven acts the intrigue of Yajāti with Śarmiṣṭhā and terminating in his union with her. It describes also his reconciliation with Devayānī.

25. *Śubhata*—He lived during the reign of King Kumāra Pāl (1088—1172 A. D). He wrote *Dūtāṅgada* describing the embassy of ṅgada for negotiation with Rāvaṇa.

26. *Viśvanāth*—He lived under the patronage of Pratāp Rudra Deva (1294-1325 A. D). He wrote *Saugandhikā Haraṇam* about the beginning of the fourteenth century A. D. The plot is based on the story of the Mahābhārat in which Draupadī being attracted

by the beauty of flowers brought by a Gandharva requests Bhīma to fetch some more for her. There is a long vehement altercation between Bhīma and Hanumān.

27. *Bhāskara*—His *Unmatta Rāghva* was written to entertain an assembly of the learned that met together to pay homage to Vidyāraṇya. It was written about the middle of the fourteenth century A. D. It describes in a single act the maddened soliloquies of Rāma on account of the sudden disappearance of Sītā in a shady garden where a trespasser would turn to a deer owing to Durvasa's curse. The whole story imitates closely the fourth act of *Vikramorvaśī*.

Unmatta Rāghava.

28. *Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Vāṇā*—He wrote *Śrīṅgārabhūṣaṇ* about the middle of the 15th century A. D. The book describes the amorous adventure of Vilāsa Śekhar.

Śrīṅgāra Bhūṣaṇa.

29. *Kṛṣṇadatta*—He lived under the patronage of King Puruṣottama Deva of Orrissā (1478-1503 A. D.). His *Purañjaya carit* describes in five acts the story of Purañjay as narrated in the Bhāgavat Purāṇ. His *Kuvalāsvīya*, a drama in seven acts, describes how a Vedic student fell in love with a maiden Madālasa by name. The poet was intimately familiar with the dramatic literature of the day.

Purañjaya Carit.

30. *Mathurā Dās*.—He wrote *Vṛṣa Bhānujā*, a nāṭikā in four acts, that describes

Vṛṣabhānujā

the love of Śrcekr̥ṣṇa and Rādhā. He flourished about 15th century A. D.

Śreedām
Carit.

31. *Sāmarāja Dikṣit*—He lived at the latter half of the 16th century. He wrote Śreedām Carit, a drama in 5 acts. The subject matter of which has been derived from the 10th skanda of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Kaṁṣa Ba-
dha.

32. *Kṛṣṇa Kavi*—He was patronised by Todarmalla, the finance minister of the Emperor Akbar. He wrote Kaṁṣa vādha, a drama in seven acts, at the earlier part of the 17th century. The book describes the death of Kaṁṣa at the hands of Śreekr̥ṣṇa.

Caitanya
Candrodaya.

33. *Kavi Karṇapur*—He was born in 1525. A. D. His Caitanya Candrodaya describes the history of the reformer Caitanya after the model of Prabhodha Candrodaya.

Abhi Rāma
Maṇi

34. *Sundara Miśra*—He lived about the end of 16th century A. D. His Abhirāma-
maṇi describes in seven acts the whole life of Rāma.

Nala Carit.

35. *Nīlkaṇṭha*—He wrote Nalacaritam. It describes the history of Nala in seven acts. The work is based upon Śrī Harṣa's Naiṣadha caritam.

Jānakī Pa-
riṇaya.

36. *Rāmabhadra*—He flourished about 1638 A. D. His Jānakī pariṇaya describes in seven acts the marriage of Rām and Sitā. The plot has very skilfully been woven.

Very often he deviates from the original. There is an inter-drama enacted at Rāvaṇ's court. The style is learned and amusing.

37. *Atirātra Jajvā*—His Kuṣa Kumudvatī describes in five acts the love of Kuṣa, the eldest son of Rāma, and Kumudvatī, the princess of the Nāga clan.

Kuṣa—
Kumudvatī.

38. *Cakrakavi*—He flourished about the first half of the seventeenth century A. D. He wrote three dramas, viz. Jānakī pariṇaya, Gaurī Pariṇayā and Draupadī Pariṇaya.

Jānakī Pari-
ṇaya etc.

39. *Candra Śekhar*—His Madhurāniruddha, a drama of eight acts, describes charmingly the love of Aniruddha and Uṣa, daughter of King Vāṇā. He flourished about the second half of the 17th century.

Madhurāni-
ruddha.

40. *Mahādeva*—He wrote Adbhut Tarpaṇ at the first half of the seventeenth century. The book describes the war of Rāma with Rāvaṇa beginning from Hanumān's return from Laṅkā.

Adbhut Tar-
paṇa.

41. *Vaidyanāth*—He wrote *Caitra Yajña* in the eighteenth century. The drama describes in five acts the legends of Dakṣa.

Caitra Yajña.

42. *Rāma Varma*—His Rukmiṇī Pariṇaya written towards the close of the eighteenth century describes in five acts the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī.

Rukmiṇī
Pariṇaya.

43. *Rāmeśvar*—He flourished in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. His *Candrābhīsek* describes the over-throw of the Nandas by Cāṇakya and the coronation of Candra Gupta. He imitates *Viśākha Datta* both in style and subject-matter.

44. *Sāṅkar Dikṣit*—He wrote *Pradyumna Vijay*, a drama of seven acts. The book describes the victory of *Pradyumna* over *Vajranābha*, the *Daitya* chief. The subject has been derived from *Hari Vaṃṣa*. It was composed in the first half of the eighteenth century on the occasion of the coronation festival of King *Śubha Singha*.

45. *Viśveśvar*—He wrote *Nava-mallikā*, a *Nāṭikā* in four acts, in imitation of *Ratnāvalī*. Besides, he wrote *Śrīṅgāra Mañjarī*, a *saṭṭaka* in pure *Prākṛt* in imitation of *Rāja Śekhara's Karpūra Mañjarī*. The poet flourished in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

46. *Ānanda Rāja Makhi*—He lived at the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Of his dramas the *Jibānanda*, a *Nāṭak* complete in five acts and the *Vidyā pariṇaya* consisting of six acts have come down to us.

47. *Candra Kānta Tarkalanēśvara*—He wrote *Kaumudī Sudhākara*. The drama falls under *prakaraṇa* class. It was published in 1887 A.D. and written on the occasion

Candrābhī-
seka.

Pradyumna
Vijaya.

of the marriage ceremony of Hemcandra and Cārucandra.

48. *Pandit Pañcānan Tarkaratna*—He wrote Amaramaṅgalam. It is a drama in eight acts. It was written on the occasion of Sarasvatī festival. The drama describes the life of Amar Singh of Rājputanā. Amaraman-
galam.

Later plays.—Of the later plays we give below the names of only a few with the names of their authors against them.

(1) *Añjanāpavanamājaya*.—Hastimalla.

(2) *Vasumaticitrasenavilāsa*— Appaya Dīkṣita.

(3) *Candīvilāsa*—Rudra Śarmā.

(4) *Virāja Sarojinī*—Haridās Siddhānta Vāgīśa etc.

Thus we see that the drama has had a continuous existence from the 4th century B. C. down to the present time.

Exercise

1. Give an account of the origin and history of the Sanskrit drama. What would you consider the distinctive features of Kālidās's poetical genius. 1909.P.

2. Give an account of the history of the Indian drama and give the characterisation of that drama as contrasted with the drama of Western nations. 1909.H.

3. Name and characterise the the principal Sanskrit lyrics. 1910. P.

4. State with examples the principal characteristics of Indian drama. 1911 P.

5. Give a survey of Indian ethical poetry. Quote any specimen you may remember. 1911 H, 1818 P, 1920p. 1927 P.

6. What may be conjectured as to the source of dramatic literature in India ? Compare and contrast special excellences of Kālidās and Bhabt̥bhūti. 1911 H. 1922 H.

7. Give a survey of Indian lyrical poetry with details as to either the Meghadūt, the Gīta Gobinda or R̥tusamhāra. 1925H, 1932H, 1933P.

8. Point out the characteristic excellences of Kālidās—1913 H.

9. Trace the development of the Sanskrit drama 1915P, 1917P. 1918P. 1920H.

10. Describe the origin and character of the Indian Drama. 1916P.

11. On what points do Sanskrit dramas resemble the dramas of Shakespeare ? Or what distribution of

dialects is usually adopted for actors of various ranks in Sanskrit dramas. 1928 P.

Ans. :—

“पुरुषाणाम् अनौचानां संस्कृतं स्यात् कृतात्मनाम् ।
 शौरसेनी प्रयोक्तव्या तादृशीनाञ्च योषिताम् ॥
 आसामेव तु गाथासु महाराष्ट्रीं प्रयोजयेत् ।
 अवोक्ता मागधी भाषा राजान्तःपुरचारिणाम् ॥
 चेटीनां राजपुत्राणां श्रेष्ठानां चाङ्गमागधी ।
 प्राच्या विद्रुपकादीणां धूर्तानां स्याद् अभन्तिजा ॥
 संस्कृतं संप्रयोक्तव्यं लिङ्गिणीषूत्तमासु च ॥
 देवीमन्त्रिसुतावेश्यास्त्रपि कश्चित् तथोदितम् ।
 योषित्सखीयालवेश्याकितवाप्सरसां तथा ॥
 वैदग्ध्यार्थं प्रदातव्यं संस्कृतञ्चान्तरान्तरा ।”

(साहित्यदर्पण VI)

12. Write all that you know of two important poets preceding Kālidās 1931 P.

13. What are the different forms of Indian drama ? Illustrate your answers with names of surviving dramas and short description where they may be necessary. 1932 P



CHAPTER XII

FAIRY TALES AND FABLES.

Characteristics. The abundant introduction of ethical reflections and proverbial philosophy is the distinct characteristic of fairy tales and fables. Another distinguishing feature of these collections is the insertion of a number of different stories within the frame work of a single narrative. The Vedic literature and Buddhist Jātakas are really a store-house of didactic fables.

Pañca Tantra. The *Pañca Tantra* is a world literature in the truest sense of the term but unfortunately its original is lost and it has come down to us only through translation. It has wandered from nation to nation through travellers, merchants and monks and thus has become the common property of all nations.

Division of the book. It is divided into five books. From the literary point of view, it is the most important and interesting work in this branch of Indian literature. It is written in prose with an admixture of verse. It was probably written in the first half of 6th century A. D. by Viṣṇu Śarmā.

Source of the book. The *Pañcatantra*, as some scholars say, must have been derived from Buddhistic sources, as a number of fables can be traced to Buddhistic writings. But this is not

agreed to by others, who acknowledge its independent growth.

The framework of the first book, entitled, "*Separation of Friends*," is the story of a bull and a lion. The main story in the second book, of the name of "*Acquisition of Friends*" deals with the adventures of a tortoise, a deer, a crow and a mouse. The third book called, "*The war of the Crows and the Owls*" points out the danger of friendship concluded between those who were old enemies. The fourth book by the name of "*Loss of what has been acquired*", illustrates how fools can, by flattery, be made to part with their possessions. The fifth book, which is called "*Inconsiderate Actions*" contains a number of stories connected with the experiences of a barber.

Names of chapters and their subject matter.

The book is also known as *Tantrākhyāyikā*. The meaning of the word *tantra* is doubtful. This may either refer to chapters or the sources from which it has extracted its subject matter.

Hitopadesa—Another work of the similar nature is the celebrated *Hitopadesa*. It is based chiefly on the *Pañca-Tantra*. *Hitopadesa* is divided into four books,—*Acquisition of Friends*, *Separation of Friends*, *War*, and *Peace*. The first two books agree with the first two books of the *Pañca-Tantra*

Subject matter and its relation with *Pañca Tantra*.

but in inverted order. It is said in the book that Nārāyaṇa, who lived in the court of Dhavala Candra, composed it for the sons of Sudarsan, king of Pātaliputra.

Nature of
the books.

These two books belong to the class of literature, called, "*Science of Political Ethics*." The Nīṭisāra of Kāmandaka is one of the sources of the maxims introduced by the author of the Hitopadeśa.

Vetāla
Pañcaviṃśati

A collection of Fairy Tales, with a highly oriental colouring, is the *Vetāla Pañcaviṃśati*. King Vikrama of Ujjain solves herein 25 problems of a Vetāla and is favoured by him. This work is known to the English reader under the title of *Vikrama and the Vampire*.

Vikrama
Carit.

Another collection of the fairy tales is the *Siṃhāsana Dvātriṃśat*, which goes also by the name of *Vikrama Carita*. Both this and the preceding one are of Buddhistic origin.

Suka
Saptati.

Suka-saptati.—This is a prose romance written by some unknown author. It describes the story of a woman whose husband is abroad and who is inclined to run after another man. She asks the advice of her parrot about this. The bird tells a story to her every day and thus makes her pass seventy days after which the husband returns. This gave rise to the composition of

Sukaspatati or the seventy stories of the parrot

Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara—It is a book of this type. Its author is Somadeva, a Kāśmerian poet, who wrote it about 1070 A. D. This book has direct allusion to Buddhist birth stories. The author states the real basis of his work to have been *Vṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhyaṃya (200 A. D.) Kṣemendra Vyāsādās (1000 A. D.) composed *Vṛhatkathāmañjarī*. The *Kathā Sarīt-Sāgara* along with the main story contains the first three books of the *Pañca-tantra* and the *Vetāl Pañcaviṃśati*. It is a store-house of various other rare topics also.

*Kathā Sarīt
Sāgara.*

The book is divided into 18 sections called *Lambakas* and subdivided into 125 chapters called *Taraṅgas*. The book describes the adventures of Udayana and his son Narabāhana Datta in details.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIA AND THE WEST.

Owing to the frequent contact of the Indians with foreign invaders, the literature of India and the West were mutually influenced.

The Epic—The Greek rhetorician Dio Chysostomos finding some similarity in the leading characters of the *Mahābhārata* with those of the *Iliad*, supposes the former to be a translation of the latter. It is also said that the worship of Kṛṣṇa is but an outcome of the influence of Christianity. This theory is improbable on the very face of it. The evidences regarding the age of the Mahābhārata and the statements of Megasthenes and the Mahābhāṣya point to its existence before the Christian era. Prof. Weber's assumption of the Greek influence on the Rāmāyaṇa has been refuted by Prof. Jacobi.

The Drama.—It is found in Philostratus's life of *Apollonius of Tyana* that Greek literature was held in high esteem by the Brāhmaṇas of India. Indian inscriptions mention Yavana or Greek girls sent to India as a tribute. Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit authors

Western influence on Epics.

on

describe that the Indian princes were waited upon by Yavana girls. Kāma, the Indian god of love, has in his banner a dolphin (*makara*) resembling the Greek *Eros*. The existence of the above conditions led Prof. Weber to believe that the Indians imitated the representations of the Greek plays performed at the Court of Greek princes in India. This is corroborated by the fact that the curtain of Indian stage is *Yavanikā* or "Greek partition". According to Prof. Weber there is no internal connection between Indian and Greek drama. Prof. Windisch goes a step further and says that there is internal connection. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* shows the influence of the new attic comedy. The points of resemblance are so meagre that they can be explained as independent development. Moreover there is no authentic proof if Greek plays were ever performed in India. The earliest Sanskrit plays extant existed 400 years before the Greek period. The word *Yavanikā* a reminiscence of Greek plays did not certainly form the back-ground of the stage and it is not certain if the Greek theatre had a curtain at all. Thus we see that these theories are baseless. The Indian dramas had a thoroughly national development. Some famous modern European dramas, on

Opinion of
Western
scholars.

A short cri-
tique on the
above.

the other hand, have been modelled on that of a celebrated Sanskrit play.

Mutual influence of
Fairy tales
and Fables.

The Fairy tales and Fables. In the sixth century A. D. there existed a Buddhist collection of fables in India. This work was translated by a Persian physician named Barzoi in Pehlevi under the patronage of Khosru Anushirvan, a Sassanian King. It has two important translations, one Syriac called *Kalilag and Damdag*, the other Arabic called *Kalilah and Dimnah* or "Fables of Pūṣpay". The Modern Bidpai or Pūṣpay is derived from Biubān which corresponds to the Sanskrit word *vidyā-pati* (master of sciences). The Arabic translation is very important for, it being rendered into various European languages, shaped the literature of the Middle Ages in Europe.

Theodor Benfey in his epoch-making introduction to the German Translation of *Pañcatantra* has traced the history of the book and has laid down the foundation of comparative history and literature. The fame of *Pañcatantra* reached Persia early in the sixth century A. D. A North-western recension of the work was translated into Pehlevi by the Physician Barzoi by the order of the Persian king Khosro Anushirvan (531—579 A. D.) together with

some other Indian stories. The Syrian Chrishua monk Bud translated it from Pehlevi into Syrian about 570 A. D. under the title of Kalilag and Damnag. Abdulla Elcon Al Maquffa translated the Pañcatantra into Arabic with his additions about 750 A. D. under the name Kallta Wa Dimna (the corruptions for Karataka and Damanaka).

Various
Translations.

This Arabic translation was the source of many translations into European and Asiatic languages. Philip Wolft, the German translator of the Arabic version, has rightly said that it had been translated into most languages of the world next to the Bible. According to him the book inspired, more or less, all nations.

Arabic Translation—its
importance.

In the eleventh century it was translated into Greek and from Greek into Italian, Latin, German and Slavonic languages. It was translated into Hebrew by Ravi Joel and the book came out in the beginning of the 12th century A. D.

Other European
versions.

It was translated from Hebrew into Latin by Joha of Kapua between 1263 and 1278 A. D. The German translation of these Latin versions exercised enormous influence on German literature.

Hebrew
Translation.

It is no wonder then if traces of Indian fables and tales be found in the most popular narratives in the work of Western literature, such as, the *Gesta Romanoren* and similar collections of monks and story tellers.

The relation of the Pañcatantra to Æsop's fables :—

The Buddhistic collection, the *Pañcatantra*, and the collections of *Æsop* and *Babrius* have some points of resemblance between them. The comparative study of the animal and bird fables, such as, the fable of the lion and the jackal, of the fox and the raven &c., which are natural to the Indian fable but have no basis in fact in the Grecian fable, shows the priority of the Indian fables. According to Profs. Weber and Benfey, the Indians, though they had a number of independent fables of their own, borrowed some fables from the Greeks. Europe is thus indebted to India for its mediaeval literature of fairy tales and fables.

It would not be out of place here to mention the book of *Burlaam* and *Joasaph* composed by a pious Christian monk in the middle ages, which has a great resemblance with Buddhist literature, specially with *Lalitvistar*. The work was probably first composed in the Pehlevi language in

Cause of
similar ideas

Pañca Tantra
and Æsop's
Fables.

and

the 6th. or 7th. century A. D. and afterwards translated into Arabian and Syrian. The Greek version was perhaps derived from the Syrian translation. It was then reduced into Latin and was the source of all translations in European languages.

Philosophy.—It is found that the early Greek and the Indian philosophies have many points in common. Some leading doctrines of Greek philosophy are to be found in the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta. The doctrine of Empedocles again (the doctrine of Satkāryavāda) is found in the Sāṃkhya system. Taking the Greek tradition that Thales, Empedocles, Democritus and others went to the oriental countries to study philosophy to be true, it can be said that the Greeks were influenced by Indian thoughts through Persia. The dependence of Pythagoras on Indian philosophy and science in respect of each of his doctrine, religious, philosophical or mathematical, supports the above view. Besides, we learn that Indian savants resided in Baghdad for teaching purposes.

Influence on
Philosophy.

Science.—With regard to various branches of science, the Indians and the Western people were mutually indebted. On Science.

Mathematics.—In mathematics the world is indebted to India. The originality of the

Indians in this respect is surpassingly great. The Indians invented a system of notation and the decimal system which are used all over the world. India again became the teacher of Arabia and Persia and through them of the West in the middle ages. Geometry originated in India from the rules of construction of sacrificial altars. *Sūlva Sūtras* are the oldest mathematical writings of the Indians.

On Mathematics.

On Astronomy.

Astronomy.—In *Astronomy* the Indians are considerably indebted to the West. The Indian *Astronomy* though rich at an early stage was affected by that of Greece. This is borne out by the words of Greek origin (e.g. *Ara*, *Heli*, *Tyan*, *Kendra*, *jāmitra*, *horā* &c.) employed in Indian *Astronomical* treatises. Thus *Varāha Mihir's Horā Śāstra*, the *Romaṅka-Siddhānta* &c. also bear testimony to the above fact. At a later period the Western *Astronomical* treatises were influenced by those of the Indians. The *Siddhāntas* attributed to *Brahmagupta* were translated by the Arabs who in their turn taught these to the Europeans during the 8th and the 9th centuries. *Bhāskarācārya* was the last Indian to further the cause of this branch of science.

Medical Science.—We have said before that the Chapters of the *Atharvaveda*

dicine

dealing with medicine are a compendium of early medical science. It has also been stated that it was the infancy of medicine, while, the Caraka and Suśruta were the products of its mature age and that after Bāgvaṭa the science was on its wane. It is very difficult to say if Indian medical science was influenced by that of the West or the latter by the former. The advanced type of knowledge found in Caraka proves that Indian medical science exercised a great influence over that of the West where no appreciable development was made before the ninth and tenth centuries.

Chemistry.—Alchemy flourished in Arabia and Egypt under Geber and others. This science was introduced into Europe through them. It is seen from *Tantra literature* On Chemistry. that Chemistry had an independent development in India at a very early period. Besides, the process of dyeing, iron-melting, preparations of various compounds etc. were also known in India.

Games.—Chess play originated from Sanskrit Caturāṅga and was introduced into Europe through Arabia. Thus we see that India exercised an influence over the West On Games. in this case also. By the 18th century A. D. it became a popular play in Europe.

Arts and Industries.—India has been famous for her woollen, silk and cotton goods from a very early time. She would send these and other valuable articles of various sorts to European and other ports. They were highly prized by the peoples of the West.

On Arts and
Industries.

CHAPTER XIV. SPECIAL LITERATURE.

The names of a few special branches of literature with the names of their authors, and accepted dates are given below without any elaborate treatment.

Law.

Of the secondary Dharma Sūtras of the post vedic period, the *Vaiṣṇava Dharma Śāstra* is the most important. This was most probably composed about 200 A.D. and is closely connected with the Kāthaka Grhya Sūtra. Dharma Sūtras—the sources of Law books.

The regular post-vedic law books are mostly written in verse. These though based on the Dharma Sūtras have wider scope than the latter. The Sūtras discuss only the matters of religion, while the Law books deal with atonement, foodstuff, government etc. along with this. Nature of Law Books.

1. *Mānava Dharma Śāstra* is the most important of the metrical Smṛtis. This has mostly been based on the Mahābhārata. It is said in the Nārada Smṛti that Manu at first composed his scripture consisting of a lac of ślokas and divided it into 1080 Chapters. This was reduced to 12000 ślokas by Nārada. Manu Smṛti-hitā.

and then to 4000 Slokas by Bhṛgu. The present Saṃhitā contains only 2385 slokas divided into twelve books, of which 260 are found in the III, XII, and XVI books of the Mahābhārata. According to Sir Willam Jones, Bühler and Max Müller, it was written about 300 B.C., while other Western scholars hold that it assumed its present shape at about 200 A. D. But the Hindus believe that it was composed about 4000 years before Christ.

There are some twenty commentaries on the Saṃhitā of which those of Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nandana, Dharaṇidhara, Rāghavānanda and Kullūka are important. Kullu-ka's commentary named मन्वर्थमुक्तावली is famous for its conciseness. It was written in Benares in the fifteenth century. The Saṃhitā has been translated by Bühler, Burnek, Manmatha Nāth Datta and others.

2. *Yājñavalkya Dharma Śāstra*.—This is next in importance to Manu Saṃhitā. It was written by the sage Yājñavalkya, the preceptor of King Janaka of Mithilā. It contains 1000 slokas and is divided into three books. It is based on the Dharma Sūtra of the White Yajurveda and was much influenced by the Pāraskara Grhya Sūtra. It has, no doubt, connection with

Commentaries.

Yājñavalkya
Saṃhitā.

the Mānava Gr̥hya Sūtra of the Black Yajurveda also. It, according to the Western scholars, was composed about 350 A. D.

The celebrated commentary on the Saṃhitā is called the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñaneśvara, who flourished about 1100 A. D. This was followed not only in the Dekhan but also in Benares and a great part of Northern India. It has now acquired great importance in the Anglo-Indian law-courts.

The oldest commentary of the Yājña Valkya Saṃhitā was written by Viśvarūp Bhaṭṭa and Vālām Bhaṭṭa wrote two expositions of *Mitākṣarā* known as *Suvodhinī* and *Vālāmbhaṭṭi* respectively.

Aparārka, King of Kaṅkan, wrote a commentary on the Yājña Valkya Saṃhitā called *Aparārka* after his name. The author lived in the middle of the twelfth century A. D. It is followed in Orissa and Kāśmīr. Besides, there is another commentary, 'Dīpa-

kalikā' on it written by Śūlapāṇi.

3. *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā*—It was derived perhaps from the Kāthaka Śakhā of the Yajurveda. Mention is made here of the Mleccha Kings and many modern holy places. It was commented on by Nanda Pandit under the name of *Vaijayantī*.

4. *Nārada Smṛti*.—This has some 12000

Nārada
Saṃhitā.

slokas in it and is chiefly founded on the code of Manu. Of the metrical law books this is the only one that does not overstep its boundary. The date of the book is probably 500 A. D.

Parāśara
Saṃhitā.

5. *Parāśara Smṛti*.—This contains some 565 ślokas, divided into 12 books. This refers clearly to the practice of widow-marriage. This was written by Parāśara probably in the 1200 A. D. The dictum (कलौ पराशरः स्मृतः) shows that it is suitable to the present age.

DHARMA NIBANDHAS

Caturvarga-
cintāmaṇi
and Dharma-
ratna.

From 1000 A. D. onward a number of legal compendia termed Dharma-Nibandhas were produced in India. Of these Hemādri's *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi* (1300 A. D.) and Jimūtavāhana's *Dharma-ratna* (1500 A. D.) are important. The former is a repository of interesting quotations from the Smṛtis and the purāṇas, while, the latter contains the famous treatise entitled *Dāyabhāga* or the law of inheritance.

(a) *Dharma Sastras and Nibandhas followed in Bengal.*

Jimūtabāhan is said to be the founder of the Smārta views in

Bengal. His Dāyabhāga is a famous Smṛti Nibandha. As regards the distribution of wealth (Dāyabhāga) there is a difference of opinion between this and Mitākṣarā. Śrīkar wrote Dāya Nirṇaya on the same subject. Jimūtabāhan was born at Pārigrām in the district of Burdwan, situated on the bank of the river Ajay. He flourished towards the close of the eleventh century.

Dāyabhāga of Jimūtabāhan was commented by several persons. Of these Curāmaṇi of Śrināthācārya, Subodhini of Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālāṅkār and two other commentaries written by Acyuta Cakravortī and Mahesvar Pandit are important.

Raghunandan's Astāvīṃśati Tattva is a very famous work on the Smṛti Śāstras. He has invariably followed Jimūtabāhan and added things which were not dealt with by Jimūtabāhan and filled up the gaps left by his predecessors. Kaśīrām Vācaspati has written a commentary on his Dāya tattva.

Astāvīṃśati
Tattva.

(b) *Dharma Śāstras etc followed in the Deccan.*

The commentary 'Mitākṣarā' is, followed in the Deccan also. Besides, Smṛti Candrikā of Devānanda Bhaṭṭa written in the 13th century and the Sarasvatī Vilāsi of Pralāp Smṛti Candrikā and Sarasvatī vilāsi.

Rudradev occupy a prominent place there. Towards the close of the 13th century A. D. Hemādri wrote Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi, a grand work on Smṛti. In the 14th century Mādhavācārya wrote two other books on this subject called Dāyavibhāg and Parāsar mādHAVIYA. Besides Varadarāj wrote Vyāvahār Nirṇaya in the 16th century. A.D.

(c) *Dharma Śāstras etc. followed in the Western India.*

Nirṇayasin-
dhu, Virami-
trodaya.

Vyābahāra Mayūkha of Nilkaṇṭha written in the 16th century A. D. occupies a prominent position in Western India and Bombay Presidency. Of the other books followed there, the Nirṇaya Sindhu of Kamalākar Bhaṭṭa and Viramitrodaya of Mitra Misra are very important.

(d) *Dharma Śāstras etc. followed in Mithilā.*

Vibāda
ratnākar and
Vibādcandra.

Vibāda Ratnākar and Vibāda candra are two important works written by Candēśvar Thakur in the 14th century A. D. Madan Pānjāt of Vireśvar Bhaṭṭa written about a century before Vibād Ratnākar is highly honoured there. Vibād Cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati Miśra, (he should not be confounded with Vacaspati Miśra, the famous philosopher and the great commentator of many

Philosophical systems) are held in high esteem in Mithilā.

(c) *Dattak Nibandhas*.

Dattak Candrikā of Raghumaṇi and Dattak Mimāṃsā of Nanda Pandit are the two important works on this subject. Dattak candra etc.

HISTORY

The Rājatarāṅginī, a choronicle of the Kings of Kāśmīra, is the only book known of the nature of modern history. This was written in 1148 A. D. by Kalhaṇa, a poet of Kāśmīra. It contains about 8000 Ślokas. The early part contains legends only. The poet has given names of many historians in his book, but their works are not now available. Nilmat Purāṇa which is older than Rājatarāṅginī has descriptions of many royal dynasties. Rājatarāṅginī and Nilmat Purāṇa.

MATHEMATICS & ASTRONOMY

The earliest works on Astronomy are the four treatises called Siddhāntas. Of these only Sūryasiddhānta is now extant. The doctrines of such works were reduced to practical form by Āryabhaṭṭa, born 476 A.D. He maintained the rotation of the earth round its axis and explained the cause of eclipses of the sun and the moon. Sūryasi-ddhānta.

Varāha-mihira (505 A. D.) composed four works, three astrological and one astronomical,—the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, the *Bṛhat* and the *Laghujātakas* and the *Pañcasiddhāntika*. The last one is a practical treatise on astronomy based on the *Siddhāntas*.

Brahmagupta, a distinguished astronomer, born 598 A. D., wrote a *Karṇa* and also his *Brahmasphutasiddhānta*.

The last eminent writer on the subject is *Bhāskarācārya*, born 1114 A.D. He wrote *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*.

Srīḍharācārya composed *Gaṇitasāra* in the 10th century A.D. He has dealt with the principles of Algebra here.

In 932 A. D. *Muñjala* wrote *Laghumānasa* and in 11th century A. D. *Bhojarāja* wrote *Rājamārtanḍa*. About that time *Padmanābha* composed a book on Algebra.

Jyotirvidābharaṇam—It is attributed to *Kālidās*, but most probably it was written by some at a later period.

Besides these we get the following books on astronomy and astrology :—

1. *Siddhānta Sundar*—by *Mānarāja* in 1503 A. D.

2. *Makaranda*—by *Makaranda* in 1478 A. D.

3. *Graha Lāghava*—by Gaṇeśa in 1520 A. D.
4. *Siddhānta Rahasya*—by Rāghavānanda in 1591 A. D.

MEDICINES.

Caraka.—Of the extant works on medicine, the *Caraka* is the oldest. The views of Sāṃkhya taken by the sage Caraka is distinct from and older than that preached by Iṣvarkrṣṇa. At the time of Caraka there were six medical treatises composed by Agniveśa, Vela, Parāśara, Jātukarṇa, Hārīta and Kṣīrapāṇi. Caraka is the revised edition of Agniveśa Tantra. It is not certainly known when Caraka flourished. He might precede the Buddhist era. Prof. Levy says that the Chinese edition of Tripiṭaka has clearly stated that Caraka lived at the time of the Buddhist king Kaṇiṣka whose time has now been ascertained as 125 A. D. Of the commentaries of Caraka those of Jejjata, Cakrapāṇi, Haricandra and Śivadās are important. Jalpakalpataru of Gangādhar is full of philosophical discussions.

Caraka—its commentaries.

Suśruta.—Caraka was followed by Suśruta. The Mahābhārata has described Suśruta as the son of Viśvāmitra. He was a disciple of Dhanvantari. The Vārttika

Suśruta and Nāgārjuna.

Sūtra of Kātyāyana mentions the name of Suśruta. Bauddha Tāntrik Nāgārjuna revised the treatise of Bṛddha Suśruta and added the last part to it. The Buddhist work 'Mahāvagga' mentions his name. He must have flourished before 5th century B. C. It was commented by Cakrapāṇi, Dalvaṇa, Gayadās, Bhāskara and others. (See p. 188.).

Nāgārjuna—He was a Buddhist monk. He acquired a name in the use of quick silver. He is said to have started the treatise on rejuvenation. His Rasaratnākara has been published. Herbs were mainly used during the time of Caraka and Suśruta. Use of metal was very rare. During the time of Nāgārjuna metals came to be used largely. Black sulphure of mercury was invented by him. He lived in the 1st century A. D.

Vāgbhata—He was at first a Brāhmaṇa and then adopted Buddhism. His Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya is a famous work on medicine. His first work is 'Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha'. The Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya contains the essence of Caraka and Suśruta. It has been commented by Aruṇadatta and Hemādri. The author of Rasaratna Samuccaya is not identical with Vāgbhata, the author of Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. Vāgbhata lived perhaps in the 2nd. century A. D. The treatises of Vela and

Hārīta were extant during the time of Vāgbhata.

Mādhavakara.—Nidāna Saṃgraha of Mādhavakar is a famous work. He has quoted often Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhata. It was translated into Arabic in the 8th century A. D. It has been commented by Vijaya-Rakṣita up to चक्रदीपिका. It has also been commented by Śrīkaṇṭha. He flourished perhaps towards the close of the 6th century A. D.

Nidāna
Saṃgraha..

Vṛnda.—His work is known as "Siddha Yoga". He wrote also a vṛtti on it. Vyākhyā Kusumāñjali is a comment on it by Śrīkaṇṭha. He lived in the 9th century A. D.

Siddhayoga..

Cakrapāṇi Datta.—He is the author of famous Cakradatta. He has mainly adopted the views of Tantra and Tāntric medicines. In his work he has followed Caraka and Suśruta. His work has been commented by Śivadāsa. His Cakra Saṃgraha imitates the Siddhayoga of Vṛnda very closely. He lived in the 11th century A. D.

Cakradatta..

LATER TĀNTRIC WORKS ON MEDICINE

1. *Rasaratna Samuccaya*—It was written by Śomadeva in the 13th century A. D. It combines the science of rejuvenation and treatment.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

2. *Rasa Ratnākara*—It was written by Nityanāth who lived in the 14th century A.D.
3. *Rasa Hṛdaya*—It was written by Govinda Bhāgavata in the 11th century A. D.
4. *Rasendra Sāra Saṅgraha*—It was written by Gopal Bhaṭṭa.
5. *Rasendra Cūlāmaṇi*—It was written by Somadeva. The author of this book is not identical with the author of Rasaratna Samuccaya.
6. *Bhāba Prakāśa*—by Bhāba Misra Dās was written in the 16th century A. D.
7. *Cikitsā Śārasaṅgraha*—It was composed by Vanga Sena. He has given herein the cause and treatment of diseases.
8. *Śārṅgadhar*—He has a treatise on medicine, besides his Śārṅgadhar Paddhati, a collection of poems.

TREATISES ON THE QUALITY OF HERBS

1. *Dhanvantariya Nighantu*—Compiled by Dhanvantari, the king of Kāśī is the oldest work of its kind.
2. *Madanavinode Nighantu*—It was Composed by king Madnapāla or by his courtier.
3. *Rāja Nighantu*—It was composed by Narahari in Mārāṭhi language.
4. *Dravyaguṇa Saṅgraha*—It was composed by Cakrapāṇidatta.

MUSIC.

It has been said heretofore that Gandharva Veda is the source of music. This science was propagated by Isvara, Bharata, Hanumān and Kallināth. Somasvara in his Rāgavibodha has given the opinion of all these four persons. He has given prominence to the view of Hanumān whose work was divided into seven chapters.

Source of
Music—its
propagation..

According to Bharata and Hanumān there are six rāgas, viz, Bhairava, Kausika, Hindola, Dipaka, Śrīrāga and Megha.

Rāgas.

Dancing is of two sorts—tāṇḍava and lāsya.

Of the works on music the following are important :—

1. *Saṅgīta Makaranda*
2. *Saṅgīta Sudarśana*—by Sudarśana.
3. *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*—by Kallināth.
4. *Saṅgīta Dāmodara*—by Subhāṅkara.
5. *Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇa*—by Puroṣottama.
6. *Saṅgīta Nirṇaya*—by Vīranārāyaṇa.
7. *Saṅgīta Darpaṇa*—by Dāmodara.
8. *Saṅgīta Pārijata*.
9. *Rāgavibodha*—by Somanātha.

Some works
on music..

Hindu music from various authors.—By Rājā Saurīndra Mohan Tagore, edited in Calcutta, 1875, deserves mention in this connection.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

SILPA ŚĀSTRA.

Division of
Silpa.

This science was highly developed before the time of Buddha. Reference to temple etc., are found in the Rāmāyāna which was composed long before the birth of Buddha. This may chiefly be divided into three sections—(1) Architecture, (2) Sculpture and (3) Painting.

I. Architecture.

works on
architecture.

Vastu Vidyā—It was edited by Gaṇapati Śāstrī in 1913. Viśvakarmā is said to be the god of the architects. Besides, he edited Mayamata in 1919, Manuṣyālaya Candrikā in 1917 and Silparatna in 1922. Mayamata has 34 chapters. This describes city planning, palace-building and construction of images etc. Manuṣyālaya Candrikā is divided into seven chapters and deals with house-building. Silpa ratna is divided into two parts. The first describes in 46 chapters architecture and the second in 35 chapters sculpture. He has edited also Samarāṅgan Sūtradhar in 1928. This book has description of constructing machinery etc.

Yuktikalpataru—It has been published by Pandit Iśvara candra Śāstrī in 1917. The book contains 23 chapters and deals with house-building.

Bṛhat Saṃhitā—of Barāha Mihir also describes house-building (53rd. chapter) and gives the characteristics of palace (56th chap). *Viśvakarmā Prakāśa* is a book on architecture. It has been published from Bombay in 1913. Besides, 252—257 chapters of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, 46—47 chapters of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 104—106 chapters of *Agni Purāṇa* etc. have discourses on this subject.

2. Sculpture.

58th chapter of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and 4th chapter of *Sukra Nīti* have discussions on various images of gods. The *Viṣṇu Dharmottara* in its 3rd section gives the characteristics of images. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (259 ch.) and *Agni Purāṇa* (49 ch) deal with special characteristics of images. Besides there are *Pratimā Lakṣaṇa*, of Ātreya, *Mayavāstu* of Kāśyapa on the subject.

Works on
Sculpture.

3. Painting.

Citra Lakṣaṇa translated into Tebetan language, *Viṣṇudhar Matottara* and the last chapter of *Silparatna* deal with painting.

METRES

Metres are of two kinds—Vedic and Classical. The *Ṛgveda Prātisākhya*,

Works on
metres.

the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta sūtra, the Nidāna Sūtra of the Sāmaveda, the Anukramaṇī of Kātyāyana and Chandah Sūtra of Piṅgala deal with Vedic metres. The last mentioned work deals with classical metres as well.

The classical metres are dealt with by Chandomañjarī of Gaṅgādāsa, Bṛtta Ratnākara of Kedāra Bhaṭṭa, Baṇibhūṣaṇa of Dāmodara Miśra, and Śrutabodha of Kālīdāsa etc.

VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

A few
Vaiṣṇava
works.

Bṛhat Bhāgavatāmṛta of Sanātana Bhāgavata Sandarbha (including six other Sandarbhas) of Jīva Gosvāmī, Bhakti Rasāmṛta Sindhu and Laghu Bhāgavatāmṛta of Rūpa Gosvāmī, and Govinda Litāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadas Kavirāja are the philosophical works of Caitanya Sampradāya.

Smṛti.

Of the Smṛti works of this school, the Hari Bhakti Vilāsa of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is famous.

Rhetoric.

Ujjvala Nīlmaṇi of Rūpa Gosvāmī, a treatise on rhetoric, deserves mention in this connection. His Nāṭaka Candrikā like Daśa Rūpaka explains dramatical figures clearly and lucidly. Kavi Karṇapura's Alankāra-kauṣṭubha is also a good work in this section of the Vaiṣṇava literature.

Of the dramatical works Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Vidagdha Mādhava*, *Lalita Mādhava* and *Banakeli Kaumudī*; Kavi Karna Pura's *Caitanya Candrodaya* and Rāmānanda's *Jagamāth Vallava* are important. Dramas.

Jīva Gosvāmī's *Gopāl Campū* and Kavi Karṇa pura's *Bīndāvana Campū* are two elaborate works. Campū.

Of the lyrical works Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Uddhava Sandeśa* and *Haṇsa Dūta* and Kṛṣṇānanda Sārvabhauma's *Padāṅka Dūta* are important. They have been written in imitation of Kālidasa's *Megh Dūta*. Raghunātha's *Dāna Candrikā* and *Muktā Carita* also are noteworthy. Lyrics.

Vaiṣṇava literature lacks in Kāvya. *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kavi Karṇapura only can be mentioned in this connection. It describes in 22 Cantos the life-sketch of Caitanya. Kāvya.

Of the artificial poems the names of *Rām-kṛṣṇa Viloma Kāvya* and *Śuka-Rambhā saṁvāda* deserve mention. Besides these there is a number of lyrical poetry in the shape of adoration (स्तव or स्तुति). Artificial poems.

RHETORICS

Rhetorical treatises trace their origin to the vedic works. R̥gveda, the oldest work of the Indo-Aryans abounds

A short
notice of
Rhetorics.

in figures, specially simile and metaphor. The Nirukta of Yāska has specific instances of these two figures*, collated from the Ṛgveda. Pāṇini's aphorisms regarding उपमान, उपमेय and ज्ञानान्वयन् show that these things were known to people perfectly at that time. Agnipurāṇ gives a fuller account of rhetoric and grammar.

Bharata.

Sage Bharata is said to be the father of treatises in relation to figures etc. and drama. In his Nāṭya Śāstra he has mentioned the name of Druhiṇa and has given a short account of his views. In it we find the principles of rhetoric also in their germanic state. Bhaṭṭa Lallata, Śankuka and Bhaṭṭanāyaka have commented upon Nāṭya Śāstra in the light of Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya and Sāṃkhya philosophy respectively. Avinava Gupta has written a comment on it, named *Abhinava Bhārati* in the 10th century A. D.

Commenta-
tors of Nāṭya
Śāstra.

The rhetoricians of the latter age may be divided into three groups—the old, the middle and the modern. Daṇḍi, Bhāmaha, Rudruṭa, Bhaṭṭotbhāṭa and Vāmana fall under the first group. In the opinion of these rhetoricians चरित्र is the back-bone of

* तद्वत्तुः तदर्थः तद्वत् तद्वैयर्थ्यमा २।१२ । चरित्र उपमान । यदेतत्
तद्वैयर्थ्यमिति शास्त्रम् । २।१२

Kāvya. Some of them speak highly of the style also. Ānandavardhana, Abhinava Gupta, Mahimbhaṭṭa and others occupy the middle position. These lay stress on अलङ्कार and try to establish व्यङ्ग्यत्वम्। Of the modern rhetoricians the names of Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa, Jagannātha, Viśvanātha Kavi-rāj and others are noteworthy. Many books have been written on the subject we give below the account of some of them very briefly.

Rhetoricians—
their divi-
sions.

1. *Daṇḍī*—Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍī is an important rhetorical work. In his work he has discussed and refuted the opinion of some old rhetoricians. He is perhaps older than Bhāmaha and lived about 605 A. D. He has quoted Kālidāsa and Bhāsa*. The book is divided into three sections called *Paricchedas*. The first defines Kāvyas, their divisions and scope along with style and guṇas. The second describes figures and their divisions. The third deals with play upon words and metrical fault etc. Besides Kāvyādarśa he wrote also *Daśakumārcarita* and *Chandovicitī*. He does not take figure as part and parcel of Kāvya.

Kāvyādar-
śa—its time.

2. Bhāmaha *Vṛtti* has been commented upon by Udbhaṭa Bhaṭṭa who lived in the court of King Jayapīḍa of Kāśmīra. (779—

* लक्ष्म लक्ष्मी तनोतीति ; “लिप्सतीव तनोद्भानि etc.”

Bhāmaha
Vṛtti—its
commenta-
ries.

813 A. D.). He quotes Kāsikā that was written in the earlier part of the 7th century A. D. So he may be placed in the 8th century. Like Viśvanāth he too does not acknowledge रस as the soul of Kāvya.

3. *Rudraṭa*.—His Kāvya-lāṅkāra was written about 9th century A. D. The book is divided into 16 chapters and describes figures principally and comments on language secondarily. Rudraṭa takes अलङ्कार as part and parcel of Kāvya. He too like Bhāmaha does not think रस as the soul of Kāvya.

4. *Rājaśekhara*.—He flourished in the earlier part of the 10th century A. D. His Kāvya Mimāṃsā describes chiefly शास्त्रसंग्रह, शास्त्रनिर्देश, पदवाक्यविवेक, अर्थानुशासन, कविचर्या and राजचर्या। Vābhaṭ and Vāgbhaṭ also flourished about this time and wrote respectively Vābhaṭ-lāṅkāra and Kāvya-anuśāsana.

5. *Vāmana*.—He lived perhaps towards the close of the 9th century A. D. He composed Kāvya-lāṅkāra Sūtra with his own comment on it. Kalhan makes him a contemporary of Jayapīḍa of Kāsmīra. According to him style is the soul of Kāvya*. In this work he has dealt also with anomalous grammatical points very clearly.

Kāvya
Mimāṃsā.

Kāvya-lāṅkāra
Vṛtti

6. *Dhvanikār*—According to Prof. Sobhāni Sahādaya is the name of the author of the book. The book contains 129 Kārikās. The vṛtti of those Kārikās is known as Dhvanvāloka. It is not yet certain if the comment was written by the author himself. Abhinava Gupta who has commented upon Dhvanyāloka thinks the authors of the Kārikā and their vṛttis to be different persons. The author flourished in the earlier part of the 9th century A. D. According to him Dhvani is the soul of Kāvya * and स्तोत्र is at the root of this dhvani.

Dhvani—its commentary.

7. *Ānandavardhan*—He is taken by some as the author of Dhvanyāloka. He lived during the reign of Avantivarmā of Kāśmīra. So his time may be assigned as 855—883 A. D.

Dhvanyāloka

8. *Abhinavaguptācārya*—His work is Dhvanyāloka Locana, comment on Dhvanyāloka. It was written in 1013 A. D.

Dhvanyāloka
Locana.

9. *Kuntala*—Vakroki-jivita is the work of the author. It was written in the 11th. century A. D. along with his own commentary. The book is divided into four chapters called चन्द्रोप. According to him वक्रोक्ति plays an important part in the Kāvya†.

Vakrokti
Jivita.

* काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः ।

† वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम् ।

12. *Joydeva*—He wrote *Candrāloka* in the 13th. century A. D. The book contains 350 verses divided into 10 chapters called Mayūkhas.

13. *Viśvanāth Kavirāja*—As a rhetorician he is next to Mammaṭa. His *Sāhitya Darpaṇ* deals with both शब्द and वाक्य kāvyas. According to Prof, Macdonell he is a Bengali, but some think him to be an inhabitant of Orissa. He flourished in the middle of the 14th century A. D. Rāmcaraṇ Tarkavāgisa's *Sāhitya Darpaṇ Vivṛti* is a good commentary.

Sāhitya
Darpaṇa.

14. *Rūpa Gosvāmī*—*Ujjāla Nīlmani* is the work of the author. The subject matter of the book is indicated by its name. It describes the love sentiment of Rādhā and Kṛiṣṇa. The author discusses the variety of नायकs, and some subtle matters also in it. He lived about the 15th, century A. D.

Ujjāla
Nīlmani.

15. *Appayya Dikṣit*—His works on rhetoric are *Citra-mīmāṃsā*, *Vṛttivārtik* and *Kuṭalayaṇanda*. These have been written in a very clear and lucid way. The author lived between 1554—1626 A. D.

Citra
Mīmāṃsā.

16. *Jagannāth*—He wrote *Rasagaṅgā-dhar* between 1641—1650 A. D. It is an authoritative work on rhetorics. The author could not finish the book. It was commented on by Nāgeṣa.

Rasagaṅgā-
dhar.

17. *Viśvesvara Sūri*—His *Alaṅkāra Kaustubha* is indeed the middle gem of rhetorical works. It is full of grave discussions and pithy matters.

The Bhāratiya Nāṭya Śāstra, one may say, is a vast science in verse and in prose under the form of a dialogue not very animated, as in like compositions, between Bharat and numerous ascetics gathered round him. The principal metre used is *anuṣṭup*, other metres are also used casually. The prose appears frequently, specially for definitions and grammatical explanations which do not lend themselves easily to versification. The work is generally described as "Śrī Bhāratiya Nāṭya Śāstra".

Nature of the work.

Of the commentaries of the work "Bhuvanābhyudaya" of Śankuka, "Abhinava Bhārati" of Abhinava Gupta and a commentary by Bhaṭṭanāyak are important.

Commentaries.

Of the other works on the subject 'Daśarūpaka' of Dhanañjaya (974-995), 'Pratāpa ruddhiya' of Vidyānāth (1275-1323) 'Ekāvali' of Vidyādhara (1280-1314) and 'Sāhitya Darpaṇa' (ch. VI) of Viśvanāth (1360-1370) deserve mention. We should not omit Samudra Misra's 'Nāṭya Pradīpa' in this connection which was composed in 1613 A. D.

A few works on dramaturgy.

GRAMMAR

Grammatical points have been clearly discussed in the Brāhmaṇas and in some Upaṇiṣads as well. This shows that grammar, one of the Vedāṅgas was existent at that time. It is admitted that Yāska preceded Pāṇini. Besides, we find the mention of some 64 grammarians in the system of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.

A short notice of grammatical literature.

Of these the names of Bharadvāj, Kāśyap, Śākalya, Śāktāyan, Gārgya, Gālava, Cakra-Varmā, Senak, Sphoṭāyan etc. are important.

Names of a few grammarians.

SPECIAL LITERATURE

places it is not easily understood as many grave matters have been discussed.

In the middle of the 7th century A. D. Bhartrihari wrote *Mahābhāṣya Dipikā* and Vākya Padiya. Kaiyat in the 11th century A. D. wrote *Mahābhāṣya Pradīp* which was commented again by Iśvarānanda under the title of *Bhāṣya Pradīp Vibaraṇ*. In the beginning of the 18th century A. D. Nāgeś Bhaṭṭa wrote his *Mahavāṣya Pradīpodyota*.

Commentaries on *Mahābhāṣya*.

Besides Puruṣottam Dev wrote *Bhāṣya Vṛtti* in the 12th century A. D.

KĀSIKĀ

In the middle of the 7th century A. D. Vāman and Jayāditya two famous Buddhist grammarians composed a very easy commentary on the system *Astādhyayī* under the name of *Kāśikā Vṛtti*. It is not certain which portion of the work was written by Vāman and which by Jayāditya.

Author of the work—their time.

Some scholars think that the first five chapters of the book was composed by Vāman and the rest by Jayāditya.

Towards the close of the 7th century A. D. or in the beginning of the 8th Jinendra Buddhi wrote *Kāśikā Vibaraṇ Pañjikā* or *Nyāsa* upon *Kāśikā Vṛtti*. This Jinendra Buddhi is not identical with the author of Jainendra grammar. Haradatta Miśra wrote another commentary on *Kāśikā* known as *Padamañjarī* in the 11th century A. D.

Notes on *Kāśikā*.

Bhāṣā Vṛtti—Puruṣottam Deb wrote this on Loukik aphorisms of Pāṇini alone. He has quoted many famous Kāvyas by way of illustrations. This has been commented by Śrīdhara under the title of *Bhāṣa Bhāṣāvṛtti*.

of Śākaṭāyana. The chapter on Taddhit also seems to be a later addition.

Commenta-
ries.

Parīṣiṣṭa.

Daurga Sinha wrote a commentary on it under the title of Kātantra Vṛtti. This is the oldest commentary on the work. Daurga singha flourished perhaps in the 8th century A. D. Vardhamān wrote an exposition of this Vṛtti known as Kātantra Vistara. Trilocaṇ Dāsa's Kātantra Pañjikā is a good comment on Kātantra Vṛtti. This Pañjikā has been commented by Jina Prabhā Sūri, Kuśal and Rāmcandra, Kaviraj, Gopināth and Kulcandra. Besides these there is a commentary on it called Dhruḍika.

This grammar is mainly read in Bengal and in Kāśmīr.

Cāndra.

Śrīpati wrote Kātantra Parīṣiṣṭa which has been commented by Gopināth, Rāmcandra, Śivarām and Puṇḍarikākṣa. Uttara Parīṣiṣṭa was added to Kātantra Parīṣiṣṭa by Trilocaṇ Dāsa.

There is a great difference between the Kātantra Sūtra Pāṭh of Bengal and that of Kāśmīr.

Candra grammar—It was written by Candra with his own Vṛtti. The author was a Buddhist. This grammar was discovered from Nepal by M. M. Hara Prasad Śāstrī and from Tebetan language by Mr. Bruno Libick. The author flourished in the 5th century A. D. The book was commented by Dharma Dās.

Jianendra grammar—It is said that this grammar was written by Mahāvīr. The name of the book owes its origin to the fact, that Indra in his childhood asked Jina the subject matter of grammar. In many man-

Manuscripts Devānanda is found to be the author of the book. This is supported by Hemcandra and Vopadev also. This grammar is older than Cāndra grammar. There are two recensions of the book, the one contains three thousand Sūtras with commentary, Abhaya-dandi Vṛtti and the other contains three thousand seven hundred sūtras with the commentary Śabdarnava candrikā by Somadeva Suhrīt. The author flourished in the fifth century A. D.

Abhinava Śākatāyana grammar—This has been quoted by Hemcandra, Gaṇaratna Mahodadhī, Mādhaviya Dhātu Vṛtti, Bhopadev and others. This book is divided into four chapters each of which contains four Pādas. He flourished perhaps in the earlier part of 9th century A. D. Śākatāyana.

Sārasvat grammar—The author of the book is Anubhūti Svārṇpācāryya. He flourished perhaps in the 13th century A. D. The book with seven hundred aphorisms has explained all the important subjects related to classical Sanskrit. Of the commentaries on the work the commentary by Amṛita Bhārati, the Siddhānta Candrikā of Rāmāśram, the Prasād of Vāsudev Bhaṭṭa, and the Sāra Pra-dīpikā of Jagannāth are important. Sārasvat.

Supadma—It was written by Padma nābha Datta. The author has followed Astādhyāyī in many respects. He flourished perhaps towards the close of the 13th century. The book has seven chapters viz, Saṃjñā, Sandhi, Karak, A'khyat, Kṛt, Uṇādi and Taddhit. The Vṛtti of this grammar and a commentary Supadma Pañjikā by name were written by the author himself. Besides, it has been Supadma.

APPENDIX A.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDAS

On the question of interpreting the Vedas, the ancient sacred books of the Hindus, which differ greatly from classical literatures in point of language, style and matter, our learned European scholar Theodor Goldstücker shows great respect to the oldest commentators like Sāyaṇa, Yāska, Mahidhara and others. He holds that it is from the chronological position in which the works stand to one another that we may feel justified in appealing to the oldest commentators for right interpretation. For, the greater the distance between a Veda and the grammarian who appended to it his notes, the more we shall have plausible ground for looking forward, in preference to him, to that grammarian who stood nearer to the fountain head. Thus according to this view, even Pāṇini would cease to be our ultimate refuge if we find Yāska opposed to him and Gārgya, Śākala, Śākaṭāyana or the other predecessors of Pāṇini would deserve more serious consideration than himself, if we are able to see that they maintain a sense of a Vaidik word which is differently rendered by him.

These remarks apply, of course, to the Saṃhitās which preceded pāṇini. But as to the literature which is posterior to him Kāṭyāyana becomes necessarily our first exegetic authority and after him comes Patañjali.

Let us now see what other European scholars have got to say on this question. Among others we find the most prominent name of Professor Roth who professes to be a teacher and authority on the subject. Professor Roth in

his preface to the great Sanskrit Dictionary published by the Russian Imperial Academy says in the following words :—“We do not believe, as H. H. Wilson does, that Sāyaṇa better understood the expressions of the Veda than any European exegete, and that we have nothing to do but repeat what he says ; on the contrary, we believe that a conscientious European exegete may understand the Veda much more correctly and better than Sāyaṇa. We do not consider it our immediate purpose to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago, but we search for the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases. We consequently hold that the writings of Sāyaṇa and of the other commentators must not be an authority to the exegete, but merely one of the means of which he has to avail himself in the accomplishment of his task which certainly is difficult, and not to be effected at a first attempt, nor by a single individual. We have therefore endeavoured to take the road which is prescribed by philology to elicit the sense of the texts by putting together all the passages which are kindred either in regard to their words or their sense ; a road which is slow and tedious, and which indeed has not been trodden before, either by the commentators or the translators. Our double lot has therefore been that of exegetes as well as lexicographers. The purely etymological proceeding, as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of words, without having before them the ten or twenty other passages in which the same word recurs, can not possibly lead to a correct result.”

If we analyse the ideas and principles presented in the passage quoted above, we get the following :—

(1) Sāyaṇa gives us only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago.

(2) Professor Roth is far more able than Sāyaṇa and other commentators to give us the correct sense of the Veda.

(3) He can put together some ten or twenty passages referring to the same word, whereas Sāyaṇa and other commentators could not do this, but had to guess out its sense.

(4) He is confining himself to the purely etymological process which is above that of these commentators.

(5) His object is not to understand the sense of the Veda which was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the authors of the hymns themselves gave to their songs and phrases.

(6) Professor Roth is a conscientious European exegete. Adducing these views of Professor Roth, Goldstücker deigns to criticise every point. He begins his criticism thus one by one :—

(1) As regards the first point of attack against Sāyaṇa that he and the other commentators give us only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries back, he meets his opponent, saying that Roth's is a bolder statement that should not proceed from the lips of a scholar. Sāyaṇa incessantly refers to Yāska. All his explanations show that he stands on the ground of the oldest legends and traditions; yet Professor Roth ventures to tell the public at large authoritatively and without a particle of evidence that these legends and his version of the R̥gveda are but some centuries old.

(2) On the 2nd point he presumes that he is more competent than Sāyaṇa in the interpretation of the Veda. But Goldstücker is of opinion that when Roth says so, he

seems to declare that he has been familiar with all that Sāyaṇa knew. When an author tells us that he is able to do that which another author cannot do we are entitled to infer that he is at any rate thoroughly acquainted with all that this author has written. But the fact is that notwithstanding his stay in Paris, in London and in Oxford for the collection of the Vaidik commentaries of Sāyaṇa for his lexicographical purposes, when he began his Dictionary he was only acquainted with the commentary of Sāyaṇa as far as the first Aṣṭaka and when he wrote these lines he might perhaps have known its continuation up to a portion of the third Aṣṭaka ; and yet he ventures to speak of the whole commentary of Sāyaṇa and to say that he can do what Sāyaṇa was unable to perform.

(3) On the third point Goldstücker finds Professor Roth insane. The statement that Sāyaṇa cannot put together some ten or twenty passages in corroboration of the sense of a word like Professor Roth is more than puerile. Mādhava Sāyaṇa, one of the profoundest scholars of India, the exegete of all the three Vedas, of the most important Brāhmaṇas and a Kalpa work, the renowned Mīmāṃsist, the great grammarian who wrote the learned commentary on the Sanskrit radicals, who shows at every step that he has Pāṇini and Kātyāyana at his fingers' ends, who on account of his gigantic learning and his deep sense of religion lives in the legends of India as an incarnation of Śiva,—such a great Mādhava had not, in the opinion of Professor Roth, the proficiency of combining in his mind or otherwise those ten or twenty passages of his own Veda, which Professor Roth has the powerful advantage of bringing together by means of his little memoranda.

(4). On the fourth point Prof. Roth accuses Sāyaṇa of

giving us the meanings of Vaidik words on a purely etymological basis. There is, in the opinion of Goldstücker, too much of boldness in such an assertion. Goldstücker declares that he knows of no work which has come before the public with such unmeasured pretensions of scholarship and critical ingenuity. His Dictionary has given many meanings without the slightest regard to the grammatical proprieties of the word. But an etymological proceeding (which Prof. Roth presumes to know) without a thorough knowledge of grammar is altogether a cypher.

(5) On the fifth point Prof. Roth has got to say that he must not have understood the Veda such as it was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases. This is no doubt a very important point. If Sāyana gives us the sense of the Veda such as it was handed down to him from generation to generation from time immemorial and not a few centuries ago. How are we to know the revelations of the sages without having any regard to the learned commentators who are qualified to interpret them? Goldstücker makes here fun of Prof. Roth saying that the latter has received a revelation at Tübingen like the former R̥ṣis which has neither reached the bank of the Thames nor those of the Ganges. Who will not hail his revelation which dispenses with grammar and all that sort of thing, and who will not believe in it? Goldstücker then seriously declares that in those cases no critic has anything to do with the sense which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases, but he has simply to deal with that sense which religion or superstition imparted to the verses in order to adapt them to the imaginary effects of the sacrifice.

(6) On the 6th point Prof. Roth says that a conscientious European exegete may understand much more correctly and

and thoroughly the sense of the Veda than Sāyaṇa. Goldstücker criticises the view in the following way : In scientific treatment Dr. Bohtlingk stands in the fore front, but he himself is incapable of understanding even the easy rules of Pāṇini, much less those of Kātyāyana. The errors in the department of the Dictionary which chiefly consist in the abolition of the radicals and nominal bases taught by Pāṇini and subsequent grammarians are of a peculiar kind and simply cancel all the categories of grammatical forms and those of the greatest importance and comprehensiveness. But a Sanskrit Dictionary has no such aim. The immediate object is the actual language which it has to deal with. It must be taken as it is ; its function is not to correct the real historical language, but to record its facts ; and in doing so to collect the materials which are to be used by the specialists as well as by the comparative philologist. So far as its direct purpose is concerned this is all it has to do. Any observations it may choose to attach to the real historical facts may of course be given ; but it shows another want of judgment, to say nothing else when it presumes to alter the very forms of the language itself.

Alfred Ludwig was the first man to admit that the indigenous expounders are not to be followed blindly, but he at the same time believes that these expounders at least partly drew upon an uninterrupted tradition and therefore deserve to be respected. He refers to the Nirukta, Sāyaṇa and Mahīdhara and tries to judge them by their own merits.

Ludwig was followed by Pischel and Geldner. They combine the two methods of Prof. Roth and Ludwig. They have shown conclusively that howsoever fanciful, irrational and inconsistent the explanations of Sāyaṇa are as a rule,

no one can any longer ignore them as Roth and Grassman have done, and yet call himself a Vedic scholar. We may meet with much of chaff, but a kern might be hidden beneath is worth the perusal.

Of the oriental scholars some join with Goldstücker in saying that only the Indian exegetes, Sāyaṇa and his predecessors are able to interpret the Vedas aright, while others following Pischel and Geldner say that the Indian scholiasts with their traditional knowledge are eligible to interpret them being dependent upon the European scholars for their philological knowledge. The latter in our opinion is the right method which should be adopted to interpret the Vedas.

APPENDIX B.

RELIGIOUS SECTS.

There are five great religious sects to one or other of which every Hindu but a professed dissenter belongs. These are the Vaiṣṇava, the Śākta, the Śāiva, the Saura and the the Gāṇapatya. Of these the first three are now popular and are found respectively, in the North-West, in and about Benares and in Bengal. These religious sects recognize the authority of the Vedas, Dharma Śāstras, Purāṇas and Tantras. All practices which are not derived from those sources are thought by them to be irregular and profane. Some of the sects have undoubtedly originated out of opposition to the Brahmanical order. These sects choose their teachers and disciples, from any class what-so-ever and they have no regard for the distinction of castes.

Every sect comprises two classes of individuals—*clerical* and *lay*. The bulk of the votaries are generally of the latter order. The teachers are chosen from the ascetic or the cœno-bitic. The rallying points they have are styled the Maṭhas, Āsthānas or Ākhrās scattered over the whole country. These have huts for the Mahānta and his pupils ; a temple sacred to their Isṭideva ; the Samādhi of the founder of the sect or some eminent teacher ; and Dharmaśāla for those who come to visit the Maṭhas.

There are some twenty Saṃpradāyas of the Vaiṣṇavas. Of these the Rāmānujas, Rāmānandīs the Kabīra panthīs and Khākīs are the chief,

RELIGIOUS SECTS

I. *Srīsampradāyas or the Rāmānujas.*

This sect was founded by the Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānuja, a native of Peramber in Southern India, about the middle of the twelfth century. He spent his early life at Kāñchī and then resided at Śrīraṅga where he composed his principal works. Then he visited various parts of India and promulgated his peculiar doctrines.

Most of the Vaiṣṇavas follow his doctrine which asserts that Viṣṇu is Brahman; that he existed before the creation and is the cause and creator of all. In opposition to the Vedānta doctrines they regard God as endowed with qualities and with two-fold forms—Paramātmā or Kāraṇ and the Jīvāt-mā or Kārya. This doctrine is known as Viśiṣṭādvaita Vāda or the doctrine of unity with attributes. The world came out of Viṣṇu when He wished to multiply Himself. They also hold that the great cause of all is distinct from spiritual essence, whereas, the Vedāntins identify the paramātmā with Jīvāt-mā.

Viṣṇu is visibly present among men in five modifications—in his Archā (as images etc.); in the Vibhāvas (avatāras, such as, fish, tortoise etc.); in the Vyūhas (four different forms of Vāsudeva, Balarāma, Pradyumna and Aniruddha); in the Sūkṣma forms (comprising six qualities *vijraja*, absence of human passion; *Vimṛtyu*—immortality; *Viśoka*—exemption from care or pain. *Vijighatsā*, absence of natural wants; *Satyakāma* and *Satyasaṅkalpa*, the love and practice of truth); and as the antarātmā, the human soul. In order to attain perfection they have to worship in five different ways, viz, *Abhigamanam*, cleansing and purifying the temples etc.; *Upādānam*, providing flowres and perfumes for religious rites; *jyō*, the presentation of offering; *Svādhyāya*, counting the

rosary and repeating the names of the divinity ; and *Yoga* the effort to be united with the deity.

The temples appropriated to Viṣṇu and his consort and their several forms are decorated with the *sālagrāma* stones and the *Tulsī* plants.

The Vaiṣṇavas mark their bodies with the foot prints of Viṣṇu and various fantastical streaks.

The Rāmanujas are not very numerous in the north of India. They are decidedly hostile to the Śaiva Sect.

2. *Rāmānandīs or Rāmwaits.*

The followers of Rāmānanda address their devotion to Rāmacandra, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān. They are better known in upper Hindusthān than the Rāmānujas. They like the Rāmānujas keep the *Sālagrāma* stone and *Tulsī* plant in their *Maṭhas*.

They are not so strict like the Rāmānujas in respect of eating and bathing, but follow their own inclination, and hence they are termed *Avadhūtas* or 'Liberated'.

Rāmānanda admitted disciples of every caste. Caste-distinction is inadmissible according to the tenet of the Rāmānandīs. They say there is no difference between the *Bhāgavata* and the *Bhāṣat*. Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja wrote treatises and the expositions on religious texts in Sanskrit, whilst the followers of Rāmānanda wrote these in provincial dialects.

Of his twelve famous disciples the following four stand prominent. (1) Nābhājī who wrote the *Bhāṣita Māla*, (2) Suradāsa and (3) Tulśidāsa who have many religious poems and verses, and (4) Jayadeva who composed the *Gita-govinda*.

3. *Kabīra Panthis :*

Kabīra was one of the twelve disciples of Rāmānanda.

He assailed boldly the whole system of idolatrous worship, ridiculed the learning of the pandits and attacked the Mullā and the Qurān. Some account of his birth and life is found in the Bhakta Māla. Kabīra in order to avoid persecution said :—

सर्वसे हि लिये सर्वसे निलिये सबका लीजिये नाउ' ।

हांजी हांजी सर्वसे कौजिये बसिये अपने गाउ' ॥

“According to them life is the gift of God, and must not therefore be violated by his creatures. *Humanity* is consequently a cardinal virtue, and the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, a heinous crime.

Truth is the other great principle of their Code, as all the ills of the world and ignorance of God are attributable to original falsehood.

Retirement from the world is desirable, because the passions and desires, the hopes and fears, which the social state engenders are all hostile to tranquility and purity of spirit, and prevent that undisturbed meditation on man and God which is necessary to their comprehension,”

4. *Khākīs.*

Kīla was the founder of this sect. This division of the Vaiṣṇavas has come from Rāmānanda. They besmear their bodies with clay and ashes and wear jaṭā or braided hair.

5. *Rudra Sampradāyas or Vallabhācāryīs*

This was founded by Vallava Ācārya. The followers of the sect worship Bāla Gopāla and embrace all ranks of Hindu Society, specially the merchants and bankers of Gujrat and Malwa. Their temples and establishments are scattered all over India.

6. *Dādu Panthīs*

The founder of the sect was a disciple of Kabīra Panthī teachers and was fifth in descent from Rāmānanda. Their worship consists in repeating the names of Rāma (*jaṇa*). They discourage image worship. Dādu flourished about 1600 A. D.

The Dādu Panthīs are of three classes.—*The Viraktas*, *the Nāgās* and the *Biṣṭara Dhārīn*

7. *Malūk Dāsīs*.

Malūk Dāsa, the founder of the sect, was the immediate disciple of *Kīla Bābā*. The Bhagavadgītā is their chief authority.

THE ŚAIVA SECTS.

The Śaivas worship Śiva and Bhavānī jointly. The following are the principal sects belonging to the Śaiva class.

1. *The Dandīs and Daśanāmīs*.

The Dandīs carry a *daṇḍa* or wand and shave their hair and beard. They wear only a cloth round their loins and subsist upon food obtained from the houses of Brāhmaṇas once a day. They live near but not within a city. They wear *tripuṇḍra* made with the *Vibhūti* on their forehead.

Any Hindu of the first three classes may become *Sannyāsīs* and *Dandīs*.

Śaṅkara had four principal disciples—Pādapāda, Hastāmālaka, Suresvarācārya and Troṭka. Of these the first had two pupils, *Tirtha* and *Āśrama*; the second, *Vana* and *Aranya*; the third, *Sarasvatī*, *Purī* and *Bhūratī* and the fourth had *Giri*, *Parvata* and *Sāgara*. These ten constitute collectively the appellation of Daśanāmī.

2. *The Yogins.*

The Yogīns are the followers of Gorakhnātha, whose traces are found in Gorakḥkṣetra, at Peshawar and in the districts and town of Gorakhpur.

"Gorakh" say the authorities of the sect, is but one of nine eminent teachers, of Nāthas. There were eighty-four perfect *Yogins* or *Siddhas*.

3. *The Jangamas or Lingāyatas.*

The followers of the sect wear the emblem of liṅga on some part of the dress or person. They smear their forehead with *Vibhūti* and carry rosaries made of *rudrākṣa*.

4. *The Paramahansa.*

Vaikuṇṭha Purī, a dandī author, divides sannyāsis into four different classes,—*Kuṭicāra*, *Bahudakā*, *Haṁsa* and *Paramahansa*. The order is marked with the graduated intensity of self mortification and profound abstraction.

Besides there are. *Aghori*, *Urdhabāhu*, *Ākāśamukhī*. *Nakṣī* *Sannyāsis*. *Avadūtas* and others.

THE ŚĀKTAS.

Of the worshippers of Śakti, the Dakṣiṇas and the Vamīs or Vāmācārīs are famous. The former offers *balī* consisting of grain, milk and sugar and also kids to Devī. The sect however is considered rather heterodox. The latter worships Devī in order to obtain supernatural power in this life. The form of their worship requires five *Makāras*.

सद्यं नांसच्च सत्प्राय मुद्रा नैथनमेव च ।

सकारपञ्चकखैव महापातकनाशकम् ॥

THE SAURAS.

The followers of the sect worship only the Sun-god. Their *tilaka* is made with red sandal and they wear crystal necklace.

They take their meal without salt on every Sunday and on each Saṃkrānti.

THE GĀNAPATYAS.

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati is their object of worship.

MISCELLANEOUS SECTS.

The Śikhas or Nānakśāhīs are classed under several distinctions.

1. Udāsins—They live in convents.
2. Ganja Bakṣis.
3. Rāmarayīs,
4. Suthrā Śāhīs—They are chiefly gamblers, drunkards and thieves.
5. Govind Simhīs—disciples of Guru Govind Singh, who was tenth in descent from Nānak. The followers are of a worldly and war-like spirit.
6. Nirmalas.
7. Nāgas.

The Jains.

For the doctrines of the sect see “Jaina philosophy” *ante*.

EXERCISE

1. Name and characterise the principal Sanskrit lyrics. 1910 P, 1932 H.
2. Is there any evidence for any branches of Indian literature having been influenced by Greek literature? 1910 H, 1925 H.
3. Trace the origin of Pañcatantra and indicate its relation to Æsop's fables. 1911 P.
4. Discuss the the different methods of interpretation which have been applied to the Veda. 1911 H, 1914 H, 1923 H.
5. Give a survey of Indian Ethical Poetry. Quote any specimen you may remember. 1911 H, 1918 P, 1927 P.
6. Give a survey of Indian lyrical poetry with details as to either the Meghadūtā or Gīta govinda. 1912 H, 1919 H, 1920 P, 1922 P, 1925 H.
7. Discuss the genetic connection, if any, between the drāmatic literature of India and that of Greece 1913 P.
8. Discuss the theory of Greek influence on the development of Indian drama. 1910 H, 1928 H.
9. Discuss the age and authorship of Pañtantra. 1914 P.
10. Name some of Indian works on astronomy and medicine. 1914 P.
11. The proneness of Indian mind to reflection found more abundant expression in poetry than the literature of any other nation that can boast—Justify the statement 1914 H.
12. Trace the development of Hindu Astronomy. 1915 P.
13. Sketch briefly the history of grammatical literature in Sanskrit. 1917 P.
14. Give a critical survey of the fairy tales and fables in Sanskrit 1924 H 1925 H,

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15. What are the reasons for supposing that the Pañcatantra is derived from the Buddhistic sources. 1926P.
16. Trace the history of the migration of Indian fable into the world. 1929P.
17. State in brief what you know of the Bṛhatkathā and other later recasts of this work. 1929P..
18. Write a note on the art of writing and the transmission of the Indian literature. 1932P.
19. Mention some three modern anthologies of Sanskrit gnomic poetry with their characteristics. 1936H.

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